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THE LIQUOR PROBLEM IN ITS LEGISLATIVE ASPECTS. An Investigation made under the Direction of CHARLES W. ELIOT, SETH LOW, and JAMES C. CARTER, Sub-Committee of the Committee of Fifty to Investigate the Liquor Problem. With Maps. 12mo, $1.25.

HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN & COMPANY,
BOSTON AND NEW YORK.

ECONOMIC ASPECTS
OF
THE LIQUOR PROBLEM

BY

JOHN KOREN

AN INVESTIGATION MADE FOR

THE COMMITTEE OF FIFTY

UNDER THE DIRECTION OF

HENRY W. FARNAM

SECRETARY OF THE ECONOMIC SUB-COMMITTEE

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PREFACE.

The genesis of the Committee of Fifty and the earlier history of its work were sketched in the preface to the report published in 1897 by the Legislative Sub-Committee. Since that time but few changes have taken place in the membership of the Committee, and its work has been steadily prosecuted along the lines then indicated. A new sub-committee has been appointed to study the substitutes for saloons in large cities. The Physiological Sub-Committee has made steady progress with its investigations, several of which have been printed in scientific journals, and it is hoped that before long a general summary of the results obtained may be presented to the public in book form. The present volume contains the investigations of the Economic Sub-Committee, and is the second in the series of official publications of the Committee of Fifty.

The object for which the Committee of Fifty was constituted was to study the liquor problem "in the hope of securing a body of facts relating to the medical, legislative, ethical, and economic aspects of the question which will serve as a basis for intelligent public and private action. It is the design of this Committee to discuss with absolute impartiality all the facts which it is able to collect, and thus to secure

for the evidence which it shall present a measure of confidence on the part of the community which is not accorded to partisan statements."

A vote of the Committee of Fifty, passed January 10, 1896, required that "the Committee of Fifty itself pass upon the question of publication of all documents, indicating any restrictions which may seem desirable," and "that in the publication of all papers contributed to the Committee of Fifty there be prefixed a statement, to be prepared by the Executive Board, indicating the preliminary relation of such papers to the final conclusions of the Committee of Fifty."

The reader should therefore distinctly understand that, in authorizing the publication of this volume, the Committee of Fifty merely indicates its belief that the facts presented have been impartially and conscientiously gathered. It does not make itself responsible for any conclusions that may be drawn from them.

The Sub-Committee on the Economic Aspects of the Liquor Problem, as appointed October 20, 1893, consisted of President Francis A. Walker, Chairman; President E. Benjamin Andrews, Dr. Z. R. Brockway, Hon. Carroll D. Wright, and Henry W. Farnam, Secretary. Later in the year the names of Professor J. Francis Jones and Dr. E. R. L. Gould were added, and after his election as a member of the General Committee, November 9, 1896, Dr. John Graham Brooks was assigned to this Sub-Committee. General Walker died January 5, 1897, and Colonel Wright was elected

chairman of the committee. President Andrews withdrew from the Committee of Fifty and therefore from the Sub-Committee in 1896. Mr. Koren was selected in February, 1896, as the special agent of the Sub-Committee, and has conducted its work under the direction of the secretary almost continuously for nearly three years. His report constitutes the greater part of the present volume. The report of the Economic Sub-Committee to the Committee of Fifty is, however, printed as an introduction to the general subject, while a few especially important tables from the 12th Annual Report of the Department of Labor are added in the Appendix.

The Committee desires to make its grateful acknowledgments to all throughout the country who have assisted in its investigation. We refer in particular to the officials and agents of the thirty-three charity organization societies, the superintendents of the sixty almshouses, the officials and agents of the eleven children's societies, and the wardens and officers of the seventeen prisons and reformatories which contributed material for our report; to the State Boards of Charities and Correction of Illinois, Minnesota, Indiana, Ohio, New York, Connecticut, and North Carolina; and to numerous unofficial friends and correspondents.

To mention all by name would expand unduly this preface, but we desire to extend our special thanks to Hon. Horace G. Wadlin, chief of the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics, Mrs. E. E. Williamson,

General Secretary of the State Charities Aid Association of New Jersey; Miss Julia C. Lathrop, Commissioner of the Illinois Board of State Commissioners of Public Charities; Hon. Homer Folks, Secretary of the State Charities Aid Association of New York; Mr. Hastings H. Hart, Secretary of the National Conference of Charities and Correction; Dr. W. E. Burghardt Du Bois of Atlanta University; Mr. Booker T. Washington, Principal of the Tuskegee School; Rev. Pitt Dillingham, Principal of the Calhoun Colored School, Ala.; H. B. Freeman, Colonel U. S. A.; W. H. Beck, Captain U. S. A.; Major George Steell, former United States Indian Agent in Montana; Mr. Francis E. Leupp, ex-member of the Board of Indian Commissioners; Mr. Ernest Carroll Moore, of Hull House, Chicago; Professor Walter A. Wyckoff, of Princeton University; Miss Ethel R. Evans, of Kingsley House, Pittsburgh; and Mr. Kendric Charles Babcock, of the South Park Settlement, San Francisco, Cal.

H. W. F.

Yale University, April, 1899.

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THE ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF THE LIQUOR PROBLEM.

REPORT OF THE ECONOMIC SUB-COMMITTEE TO THE COMMITTEE OF FIFTY.

I. SCOPE AND OBJECT OF THE INVESTIGATION.

THE Committee of Fifty has undertaken to obtain a body of facts bearing upon the liquor problem in its various aspects. One sub-committee has been studying some of the numerous physiological questions which liquor has raised; another has investigated and reported upon liquor legislation in the United States; a third is studying some of the ethical aspects of the problem; the present investigation attempts to deal with some of the economic aspects of this protean question.

It should be clearly understood at the outset that this report does not attempt to cover all of the phases of the liquor problem which may have an economic bearing. The important subjects treated in the 12th Annual Report of the Federal Department of Labor, and relating principally to the production and consumption of liquor and the amount contributed by the traffic towards taxation, were, from the beginning, excluded from our investigation, because they were already provided for. Nor did we attempt to duplicate

any of the work done by the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor and published in its 26th Annual Report.

Of the questions that remain, our investigation considers: —

1. The relations of the liquor problem to poverty and destitution as evidenced in the work of charity organization societies, almshouses, and societies for the care of poor children;

2. Its relations to crime as shown in some of the leading reformatories and state prisons of the country;

3. Its relations to the Negroes and to the North American Indians;

4. The economics of the saloon as the chief distributing agency of liquor in large cities.

By limiting our field we have made it possible, as we believe, to cover it more thoroughly than has been done hitherto. Several valuable investigations, it is true, have already been undertaken into these subjects in the United States. The Massachusetts Bureau of Labor has, we believe, the honor of having been the pioneer, and in its 12th Annual Report, published in 1881, gave the results of an investigation into the statistics of drunkenness and liquor selling, from 1870 to 1879, and the influence of intemperance upon crime. The 11th Census also published a report made under the direction of Dr. F. H. Wines, which dealt with pauperism and crime in general, and gave many facts with regard to the relations of intemperance to these evils. More complete in many respects than either of these is the 26th Report of the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor, already referred to. The 12th Report of that Bureau, valuable as it was, covered

but the single county of Suffolk; and dealt with the convictions for one year. It related only to crime, and not to pauperism. The 11th Census, while covering the whole country and including both pauperism and crime, necessarily confined itself to pauperism in almshouses, and took no account of cases of poverty relieved by private persons. Moreover, it did not undertake to investigate the extent to which intemperance is directly a cause of poverty. Its statistics confine themselves to the liquor habits of the inmates of almshouses. These two things are, of course, quite distinct. The 26th Report of the Massachusetts Bureau covered not only crime and pauperism, but also insanity, and studied liquor as a cause in all three cases; but it did not relate to any poverty excepting in almshouses; and it did not extend beyond the boundaries of a single State. Most of the other statistics hitherto collected upon these subjects have been obtained incidentally in connection with other investigations. Among the more important studies with which our work may be brought into comparison are the investigation of the German Imperial Statistical Bureau into public poor relief, made in 1885; a similar investigation undertaken by Dr. Boehmert into pauperism in 77 German cities in 1887; the investigations of Mr. Charles Booth in England, published in his "Life and Labour of the People" and "Pauperism and the Endowment of Old Age;" and the figures collected from the charity organization societies by Professor A. G. Warner, for his "American Charities."

As compared with these investigations, we may fairly claim for our work

1. That, with the exception of the German reports of 1885 and 1887, it covers a larger number of cases numerically than any of those mentioned;

2. That it covers a greater variety of cases than any of them, since we have studied not only paupers in almshouses, but also cases of destitution treated by various classes of private societies, and cases of crime;

3. That it covers a much wider area territorially;

4. That it gives us valuable facts with regard to a greater number of nationalities.

Such a thorough investigation has necessarily involved the expenditure of considerable labor and time. Since February, 1896, when the Committee formally began its labors, Mr. Koren has been employed almost continually upon the subject. For a year he has had the assistance of a statistical expert, and during five months, of four tabulators. This, however, is but a small part of the work performed, for we have had the gratuitous services of the agents of 33 charity organization societies and 11 children's aid societies and schools, while the superintendents and chaplains, or other officials, of 60 almshouses and 17 prisons and reformatories have rendered most valuable service either gratuitously or for a merely nominal consideration.

II. IMPORTANCE OF THE INVESTIGATION.

The reader may perhaps question the economy of our work. Are the results worth all of the labor spent in obtaining them? Many persons whose judgment is worthy of respect have raised this question, and some have answered it in the negative. This is

especially true of those who are engaged in the active work of poor relief. Seeing about them the evil effects of drink, and the mass of poverty and degradation due to other causes as well, they naturally say, "What is the use of trying to get more facts to present in a statistical form? We know enough about liquor to know that its effects are bad; whether a greater or smaller percentage of cases can be attributed to this one cause has little to do with the practical problems which press upon us. We cannot afford to waste our strength and our money in a search for statistics when all of the facts that we need to know are before our eyes."

This objection is a very natural one. A generation ago it would probably have been insuperable, and the investigation just made would have been quite impossible. A very large number of the cases considered have been supplied by the charity organization societies, and the oldest of these societies in our country is but thirty years old. Even twenty years ago there were very few of them, and it is doubtful whether, at that time, they would have had the means or the interest necessary to collect the elaborate facts which they have so kindly and generously put into our hands. We have ourselves often been surprised at the willingness of hard-working agents to undertake additional labors, simply for the sake of adding to the fund of human knowledge. The fact, however, that almost all of the societies which were approached upon the subject entered readily, and in some cases eagerly, into our plan, and that but two refused to coöperate on any other ground than that of expense, is in itself the best

proof that practical workers feel the need of just such facts as we have collected. The same objection may be raised against scientific work in any department of human activity which aims to mitigate the ills of humanity. The hard-working country doctor is loath to spend his time over the microscope, when so many people require his skill in the healing art. Still less willing is he to make experiments on living animals in order to satisfy his mind regarding some theory of disease. Yet the progress of modern medicine has been due to the fact that a few men have been enabled to work in their laboratories instead of at the bedside, and have thus gathered the facts and formulated the theories without which the bedside practitioner of the day would be helpless indeed.

It is in this spirit of scientific research that the present investigation into the liquor problem has been undertaken. Of course we all know that drunkenness is bad. We all know of families ruined by the dissipation of their breadwinner. Such general facts are not to be sought for in such a study. Nevertheless, in spite of the vigorous efforts of nearly a century, the liquor problem is still with us. We know that, in spite of very drastic laws, the liquor law which will really seriously check intemperance is still to be sought for. This, at least, may be taken as the result of the investigation of the Legislative Sub-Committee, which, after a most thorough study, culminated in a negative conclusion. We know that the efforts made by moral and religious agencies, great as have been their successes in individual cases, have not solved the problem. But we also know that difficult problems in other

departments of life have been solved by means of a careful and scientific investigation, and by the use of many hypotheses and many scientific laws, no one of which, taken by itself, may seem to have had a very far-reaching value. We therefore believe that, in the ever-present liquor problem, which touches upon so many different phases of life, a careful investigation of the facts such as we present will be one contribution which, taken in connection with others, may perhaps succeed, in the course of time, in making the conditions under which we live better. The progress in sanitary conditions and in the treatment of disease, made through scientific investigation, ought certainly to encourage us in attempting to further a moral reform by similar means.

It will thus appear that our averages and percentages are not merely the playthings of over-subtle minds, but that they have a very practical use for practical workers. For those who are dealing with the poor, it must be of value to know the relative importance of different causes of poverty, because in this way only can they economize their energies and make them tell to the best advantage. It is equally important to know how different nationalities are affected by the liquor habit, for this knowledge should influence not only philanthropic effort, but often legislation. A comparison of the results of our study with the data obtained by the Physiological Committee cannot fail likewise to be of immense practical importance. If it should be found, for instance, that the economic effects of alcohol are more marked and striking than its physiological effects, or again, if the opposite should be found true, either

will serve as a guide to those advocating temperance. They will know on which side of the question to lay the most emphasis. Such a comparison cannot be made for the present, but the more careful and systematic the work of this committee, the more significant and trustworthy will such a comparison be when the time comes for making it. Finally, our investigation need not confine itself to a study of causes, but should also take into account the efficacy of economic ways and means, without belittling the results of moral suasion, religious effort, and medical practice. In short, the more complete and thorough our knowledge of all of the effects of liquor, the better shall we be able to adapt our means to our ends. We may perhaps find that there is no panacea for this disease. It shows itself in too many different ways and under too greatly varied conditions. We may also find that, by adopting different methods for different conditions, we shall be able to attack it with something of that scientific accuracy with which such diseases as smallpox have been handled in the past, and with which typhoid fever and consumption are but beginning to be handled now. It may be found that economic pressure alone, if properly directed, may be a potent means of promoting temperance and diminishing the evils of the alcohol habit.

An investigation of this kind, however, has much broader bearings than the liquor problem alone. It was, for instance, on account of the result of a statistical inquiry that Mr. Charles Booth, although strongly impressed with the importance of liquor as a cause of poverty, became the advocate of universal old-age pensions in England. The almshouses which he investi-

gated, as well as the study which he made of the condition of the population of the east end of London, led him to the belief that a large percentage of pauperism was due to old age and sickness, and a small percentage to vice or bad habits. Intemperance figured as a cause of pauperism to a very small amount in his statistics.

Such figures as we have collected cannot fail to throw light on such proposals as his. If the figures from the United States should confirm the English figures, there might be the same reason for advocating universal pensions. Yet when we find that on an average the poverty which comes under the notice of the charity organization societies can be traced to liquor in some 25 per cent. of all the cases, and that in almshouses the percentage is 37, we are inevitably led to the belief that while much poverty may be due to the faults of society, more than a quarter of it in our country is due very directly and obviously to a very prominent fault of the individual.

III. RELIABILITY OF OUR RESULTS.

We shall naturally be met with the inquiry how far our figures can be relied upon, and this involves our method as well as our success in carrying it out. That there is an element of error in all statistical figures will be readily conceded. We believe, however, that we have reduced this element to as small dimensions as possible. There are two ways of getting statistics. One is to cover the entire area in question and to endeavor to count every case that may arise. Another consists in selecting certain sample districts, areas, or institutions, and studying these. The former method

is usually the best where the facts to be gathered are comparatively simple and do not involve the element of judgment. But such an inquiry can seldom be undertaken excepting by a government bureau, on account of the expense. And as an investigation by the Government usually involves the employment of paid agents all sent out from one centre, if there are any deviations from the exact facts, they are more apt to vitiate all figures in the same direction. Moreover, it is often difficult to employ a large staff of enumerators of sufficient intelligence to make an inquiry involving moral elements.

We believe, therefore, that the method pursued by us, though it does not pretend to cover more than a fraction of all cases, is, on the whole, more reliable. The institutions and societies have been selected, not with reference to any known peculiarity in their clients, but solely on account of the interest and ability shown by their agents, superintendents, or other officials. We have thus been able to command at a trifling expense a high grade of labor.

The personal equation will, of course, enter more or less into their returns. One enumerator will be inclined to attribute a doubtful case to liquor when another will not. But we can rely here on the well-known statistical law, according to which the error in the totals is much less than the errors in the individual investigations which go to form the totals. This may seem paradoxical to persons unfamiliar with statistics, and yet it rests upon a simple observation. Where the chances are equally good that an observation may differ either on one side or the other from the exact truth, it is

probable that in the mass the errors on opposite sides will balance each other. The individual bricks turned out from a kiln might differ considerably among themselves, yet one wall of one hundred courses of bricks will differ from another wall with the same number of courses but very little. A careless writer will sometimes put five words in a line, sometimes ten, yet the number of words in a hundred lines will vary little. On the same principle we feel that, as there was no bias common to all of the enumerators, whatever personal elements may have entered into the returns made by one are pretty apt to be balanced by errors of the opposite kind made in some other. We therefore believe that our method is a good one.

As regards the material accuracy of our returns, we may anticipate that they will be challenged from two opposite sides, for it so happens that they do not lean to either extreme, but fall, as it were, midway between the figures hitherto published. It was claimed, *e. g.*, a generation ago by De Gerando, who wrote in 1839, that 75 per cent. of the pauper cases in the United States were caused by drink,[1] while Charles Loring Brace says that two thirds of the crime of every city is due to drink.[2] A somewhat similar estimate is made by Mr. Boies, who says that alcohol is the direct or indirect cause of 75 per cent. of all crimes, and 50 per cent. of all the sufferings endured on account of poverty.[3]

[1] De Gerando, *Bienfaisance Publique*, vol. i. p. 318. The author refers to *The Christian Almanack* for 1824, and to the *New York Observer*, vol. vi., as authorities, but in neither of these publications could any justification for his percentage be found.

[2] *Dangerous Classes of New York*, pp. 65, 66, 1872.

[3] *Prisoners and Paupers*, p. 137, 1893.

On the other hand, more recent investigations place the percentage, as a rule, very much lower. Mr. Charles Booth, in his monumental investigation into the population of East London, concludes that about 14 per cent. of the poverty in the classes A and B of his investigation, and 13 per cent. in classes C and D, may be attributed to liquor. This investigation was made, not into the "professional" pauper class, so to speak, but into the poor of London, and classes A and B included the lowest classes of the community, classes C and D those slightly above them. In his study of pauper cases in the workhouse of Stepney, he attributes 15 per cent. to drink and immorality.

Most of the figures hitherto published for our country fall short even of this. The figures quoted by Professor Warner from various charity organization societies range from 21.9 per cent. to 4.9 per cent., but in only two cases out of twelve go above 14 per cent.[1] The cases collected by the New York Charity Organization Society in 1897 show 13 per cent. of liquor cases, while similar societies in Baltimore and six other cities yielded about 6 per cent. Still smaller are the figures in Germany. The great investigation made in 1885 into the causes of pauperism by the Imperial Statistical Bureau claimed that in only 2 per cent. of the cases could the pauperism be attributed to the abuse of liquor, while Dr. Boehmert's study of 77 German cities gave as the result 1.3 per cent. As between these extremes of 1.3 per cent. on the one hand and 75 per cent. on the other, where does the truth lie? We must, of course, understand first of all that the per-

[1] A. G. Warner, *American Charities*, p. 34, 1894.

centage cannot be expected to be the same for different countries, or different parts of the same country, or different periods. The Germans show a comparatively small number of cases in our investigation, and it may be that in Germany those who come under official poor relief on account of drink may be less numerous proportionately than the same class in our own country. It should also be noted that the German figures are based, not upon an official investigation, but only upon the official record of causes as stated, in most cases, by the applicants themselves. That such record should give the whole truth regarding the influence of liquor upon pauperism can hardly be expected.

The general statements made by De Gerando and Brace are not to be taken as giving serious statistical facts. Even if they were approximately true at the time at which they were made, it is to be hoped that the world has made progress in half a century, and that were De Gerando or Brace to make a similar investigation now, they might reach a less discouraging conclusion. We must not, therefore, expect absolute agreement between the figures of different times, different conditions, and different countries.

We should, however, expect to find agreement between the contemporaneous figures in the same country with a homogeneous population, or at least to be able to explain discrepancies, and there is an undoubted discrepancy between the results of our investigation and the results hitherto gleaned from the record of cases kept by the charity organization societies. Our own figures, based upon the investigation of such socie-

ties, show 25 per cent. of the cases investigated to be due to the use of liquor, either on the part of the applicants themselves, or of other persons. To take individual societies, the New York society returned in our investigation 23 per cent. in the aggregate and Baltimore 21 per cent. The discrepancy between these figures and those previously published is partly due to the fact that our figures include liquor as an indirect cause, while the others only consider it as a direct cause. Thus, while New York returned an aggregate of 23 per cent. of liquor cases, in only 19.5 per cent. was liquor a direct cause, while Baltimore returned an aggregate of 21 per cent., of which liquor was a direct cause in only 11 per cent. This fact explains the discrepancy in part. The rest must be attributed to the greater care exercised by the agents in studying up individual cases for us. It is often difficult to decide whether or not a case of poverty is due to liquor, and in making the general statistics published in annual reports, there is a natural tendency to understate this cause on account of the very difficulty of getting the facts. In addition to this, there is a very proper desire to give doubtful cases the benefit of the doubt in making a record which may in the future determine the treatment of individuals, lest the statement that the applicant has become poor through liquor should prejudice his case when he applies for relief.

Our own investigation was stated to be, at the outset, purely impersonal. It was to have no effect upon the treatment of individuals. This would in itself prevent the lowering of the percentage in doubtful cases. Moreover, the attention of the agents being

especially directed to one point, they naturally made a more careful study, and detected liquor cases which might otherwise have escaped their attention. We are confident that there was no desire on the part of the agents to make out large averages. Their instructions were carefully given in advance, and they were told that we wanted nothing but the truth. They were likewise instructed that, in the doubtful cases which often arise, they were not to attribute a person's poverty to liquor simply because he might, at some time in the past, have used up for drink a part of his income which, if prudently saved, would have carried him over a period of hard times. In other words, we did not think it fair to assume that all that was spent upon liquor would otherwise have been saved. That would have implied an amount of forethought on the part of the poor which does not exist. Poverty was not to be attributed to drink unless the connection was direct and immediate, as, *e. g.*, unless drink led to loss of employment, or prevented the person from getting a situation, or unless he was known to drink to excess.

For these reasons we feel considerable confidence in the fairness of our figures, a confidence which is confirmed by the results themselves. The figures from different parts of the country generally show a small divergence from the mean, and in all cases in which this divergence is at all considerable, it can be easily explained by special local conditions. The very fact that the figures do not go to one extreme or the other is, to the minds of many, an indication of their fairness. In short, while we do not claim absolute

mathematical accuracy for statistics based upon rather uncertain moral phenomena, we do believe that the results are as reliable as circumstances will permit. Finally, they are confirmed in the only case in which we have the means of making a direct comparison with figures obtained under similar conditions. An investigation into the relations of liquor to pauperism and crime was undertaken three years ago by the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics, an office which enjoys a well-earned reputation for accuracy and skill. The results of this investigation were published in the 26th Annual Report of the Bureau, and show that in Massachusetts about 39 per cent. of the paupers in almshouses had been brought to their condition by the personal use of liquor, and that about 10 per cent. had come there through the intemperate habits of parents, guardians, or others. Our figures, based upon almshouses throughout the country, give an aggregate of a little less than 33 per cent. of cases due to the personal use of liquor, and about 8.7 per cent. due to the intemperate habits of others. While our figures are slightly below those for Massachusetts, they are much nearer to them than to any other sets of figures quoted, and this fact is an important evidence of their general accuracy.

IV. SUMMARY OF RESULTS.

The special investigation of the Economic Sub-Committee relates, as has been stated, only to certain of the economic phases of the liquor problem. The report of the Department of Labor relates to certain other phases. Inasmuch as both investigations were

planned so as to supplement each other, a survey of the economic aspects of the liquor problem should give the results of both investigations and show their bearing upon each other. These two reports taken together disclose the positive and negative aspects of the case. The report of the Department of Labor gives us a view of the wealth represented in the production and sale of intoxicating drinks. It states how much of the product of the farm goes into the production of liquor; how great is the value of the annual product; how much capital is invested in making and retailing intoxicants; how many persons derive their livelihood from the traffic; and how large an amount is contributed by it towards paying the expenses of national, state, and local governments.

The report of the Economic Sub-Committee shows us the reverse of the medal. We see here a large part of the destruction of wealth and of human capital caused by this same agency. We learn what fraction of pauperism, destitution, and crime may be fairly attributed to liquor, and how this loss is distributed among different classes and races.

From the facts thus ascertained we shall also draw conclusions which may be of practical use in dealing with the problem. For while the wealth represented by and the number of persons interested in the liquor traffic indicate the economic forces which resist efforts to restrict the consumption of intoxicants, other facts, which will be referred to in their proper place, will show us some of the economic forces which work against the traffic, and which powerfully promote temperance.

Magnitude of the Liquor Interest.

Looking first at the report of the Department of Labor, we learn that the farm produce consumed in the production of various kinds of liquors in 1896 was about 58,000,000 bushels, if we add together the different grains alone. This included about 0.93 per cent. of the consumption of corn, 11.27 per cent. of the consumption of rye, and 40.44 per cent. of the consumption of barley (p. 31). The total product of all kinds of liquors in 1890 was $289,775,639, of which $182,731,622 was represented by malt liquors, $104,197,869 by distilled liquors, and $2,846,148 by vinous liquors (p. 27). The capital invested in the liquor traffic of all kinds was estimated in 1896 at over $957,000,000 (p. 50), of which 59 per cent. was found in the retail trade exclusively, and 15 per cent. in the retail trade combined with some other business. The total revenue collected in 1896 by the Federal Government, states, counties, and cities, was about $183,213,124 (p. 65). It is estimated that no less than 191,519 proprietors of establishments are interested in different forms of the liquor traffic, and that they employ 241,755 persons. A great many of these people devote only a part of their time to the liquor traffic. It is estimated that it would have required 172,931 employees to carry on the business, if they had devoted their entire time to it (p. 51). Adding together the employees and the proprietors, we thus learn that the liquor traffic suffices to give employment to over 364,000 persons, and if we assume that each of these breadwinners maintains on the average a family

of four persons besides himself, we have a sum total of over 1,800,000 persons deriving their support directly from the manufacture of and traffic in intoxicants, entirely apart from the farmers who produce the raw material, and the transportation agencies which transport it. This would represent a population as great as the combined population of New Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode Island, and Connecticut in 1890, and would be about three quarters of the population of the colonies at the time of the revolt against Great Britain. These figures give us some idea of the magnitude of the economic interests represented by the traffic.

The economist naturally asks, however, whether all of this wealth and all of this activity constitute a real addition to the economic power of the country. Whether alcohol is a poison or a food is a question for physiologists, not for statisticians, and we do not propose to enter into it here. Whatever its possible effects may be upon the human system in small doses, all agree that, when taken in excess, it may diminish the power to labor, and lead to poverty and crime. By measuring the effects of liquor which involve a direct charge upon the public, we may thus ascertain a part of the loss of wealth occasioned by intoxicants. We do not, of course, pretend to estimate the total loss to the country. We cannot, for example, tell how heavy is the burden borne in silence by families and individuals on account of the drinking habits of relatives, nor can we ascertain to what extent disease, or loss of vitality, or of productive power is occasioned by liquor in those who may still be self-supporting, but are not

as efficient wealth producers as they otherwise would be. Looking, then, simply at the burden entailed upon the public, it naturally divides itself into two general classes, that occasioned by poverty, and that occasioned by crime. In the former, again, we must distinguish between the poverty treated in almshouses, the poverty treated by private charities, and the destitution of children treated by special institutions established for them. Inasmuch as the percentages for various classes in the figures derived from private charities run closely parallel to those derived from almshouses, differing somewhat in their aggregate, but differing comparatively little in their relations to each other, we may very properly treat all the various forms of destitution together.

Poverty Due to Liquor.

In studying the causes of poverty, we are confronted with a very obvious difficulty in that individual cases may often be attributed to more than one cause. Thus a person may be at once intemperate and lazy; another may have met with special misfortune, but at the same time be shiftless; a third may be sick from a disease which might have been avoided by more regular habits. The ideal method of investigation would be to combine the causes in such a way as to show their relative importance. This point of view was emphasized by Professor Warner and Dr. Dike before the American Statistical Society,[1] and more recently some special arithmetical methods of showing these complex

[1] See *Publications of the American Statistical Society*, vol. i. pp. 184 and 201.

relations have been proposed.[1] In investigating a single cause, however, it was obviously impossible to adopt any such method; and it seemed better, especially as no statistical method for accomplishing this difficult task had been generally accepted among economists, to simply ask the question whether or not the use of liquor had been a cause of poverty in the cases investigated. In many of the cases which make up our totals, it is to be assumed that other causes contributed to the impecunious condition of the subject. It is also to be understood that in no case was intemperance given as the cause of poverty, unless it was so important that without it the poverty would probably not have existed, and unless it was obviously the principal and determining cause.

As a general result of our investigation, we may state that, of the poverty which comes under the view of the charity organization societies, about 25 per cent. can be traced directly or indirectly to liquor, 18 per cent. of the persons studied having brought on their poverty through the personal use of liquor, and 9 per cent. attributing it to the intemperance of parents or others. The general percentage is less than the sum of the partial percentages, because in some cases liquor acted both as a direct and as an indirect cause. Of the poverty found in almshouses, 37 per cent. can be traced to liquor, and of this again 32 per cent. is due to the personal habits of the inmates, and 8 per cent. to

[1] On this subject see "A Statistical Study," by A. M. Simons, *American Journal of Sociology*, March, 1898, pp. 614–622; and "A New 'National Blank,'" by Philip W. Ayres, *Charities Review*, December, 1898, p. 469.

the intemperance of others. In the case of the destitution of children, not less than 45 per cent. was found to be due to the liquor habits, either of parents, guardians, or others. While we cannot state in the aggregate how large a burden this represents for the United States, our percentages enable any one to estimate with a fair degree of accuracy how great the burden in any fairly representative State or subdivision of a State may be, of which the total can be ascertained.

It is not enough, however, to get general figures, since they include many heterogeneous elements; perhaps more important and more valuable are the figures which show the different percentages for different classes of the community. Our tables and the report of Mr. Koren give the figures in detail. In this place it will suffice to bring out the more salient results, showing the difference (1) between the sexes; (2) between those of different political condition; (3) between different occupations; and finally between different races and nationalities in the United States.

Looking first of all at sex, we find, as we should expect, a great preponderance of cases of the male sex. Of the male paupers in almshouses over 42 per cent., of the women only 16½ per cent., came to their poverty through the use of liquor. If, however, we look at liquor as an indirect cause, we find the figures reversed. While only 6 per cent. of the men owed their poverty to the intemperate habits of others, 12.7 per cent. of the women were in this unfortunate condition. A still greater contrast is found in the case of the applicants for private charity. Of such male applicants 22.7 per cent. became poor on account of liquor,

and of females only 12.4 per cent.; but again, if we look at liquor as an indirect cause, we find that only 3.8 per cent. of the men could charge their poverty upon the intemperance of others, while 17 per cent. of the women could do so. The picture which these figures call up of the lives of women ruined by the intemperance of their husbands or fathers is too significant to need any comment.

If we compare the political condition of the poor, the contrast between classes is not as striking, but still important. Looking first at the paupers in almshouses, we find that while 32 per cent. in the aggregate owed their condition to the personal use of liquor, these were distributed very unequally among the different classes. The aliens make the most favorable showing, and give only 23 per cent. of liquor cases; the citizens born come next with an average of 29 per cent., while the naturalized citizens figure to the extent of 43 per cent. The cases due to the intemperate habits of others show less difference in the percentages. The returns from the charity organization societies tell the same story. While among aliens only 14 per cent. have become destitute through the personal use of liquor, the citizens born return 17 per cent. of such cases, and the naturalized citizens 25 per cent. The figures regarding the personal use of liquor seem to indicate one or both of two things: either that those nationalities which are most addicted to liquor are those which are most apt to become naturalized, or that the effect of naturalization is to encourage drinking. The former explanation is in all probability the true one.

The tables with regard to parentage bring out a

good many facts which will well repay study in detail. A single one will here be referred to. In the tables regarding pauperism it appears that while those who have two foreign parents show more cases of pauperism due to liquor than those whose parents are native, those who have a foreign father and a native mother give a higher percentage than either. The percentage of pauperism due to the personal use of liquor when both parents are native is 26; when both parents are foreign, it is 35; and when the father is foreign and the mother native, it is 41. When the conditions are reversed, the father being native and the mother foreign, the percentage is only 31.

In the tables based upon the returns of the charity organization societies, we do not find quite the same contrast, the percentage of cases due to intemperance being about the same for those who have a foreign father and a native mother as for those whose two parents are foreign. In both cases it is a little over 21 per cent., but we still find that the combination of a foreign father with a native mother is worse than the combination of a native father with a foreign mother. It may be that this fact is explained by the consideration that native women who marry foreigners do not, as a rule, belong to the most steady and conservative classes. But whatever the true explanation may be, the fact is in itself worthy of consideration.

Particularly interesting are the returns which distinguish nationalities and races. In a country which has so many race problems to solve, this part of the investigation must have a very practical bearing upon positive methods. The comparison of races is some-

what vitiated by the fact that many of them are but feebly represented in the tables, and that, therefore, the percentages must be more accidental than in the case in which we have very large numbers. Thus, if we look at the charity organization figures first, we find that those nationalities which show the smallest percentages of liquor cases are Italy, Russia, Austria, and Poland, but in all of these the totals are small. If we take the rest, which are more largely represented, we find that the Germans lead, only 14 per cent. of their applicants being chargeable to the liquor habit. Norway and Sweden follow with 16 per cent., the United States with 17 per cent., England with 18 per cent., while Canada and Scotland show 21 per cent., and Ireland 29 per cent.

The relative rank of the different nationalities, as given in these figures, is strikingly confirmed by the returns from the almshouses. The percentages themselves are naturally all higher, but the different nations come in almost exactly the same order. Here we find that the Italians, Poles, and Austrians lead, with percentages running from 9 to 14; next come the Germans with 25 per cent., the Scandinavians with 27 per cent., the native-born with 29 per cent., the Canadians with 32 per cent., the English and Scotch with 39 per cent., and the Irish with 40 per cent.

If we compare the Caucasian race with the Negroes on the one hand and the native Indians on the other, we find that the liquor habit is apparently not very prevalent among the Negroes. They show an aggregate of but 9 per cent. in the charity organization societies, and of 17 per cent. in the almshouses, as com-

pared with 19 per cent. and 33 per cent. for white people in the same schedules, and these figures are strikingly confirmed by the careful, detailed reports made by a large number of correspondents in the South, as well as by the personal investigations of Mr. Koren. Indeed, the Negroes being, with few exceptions, native born, lower the average for the native-born Americans, which would be about 19 per cent. in the charity organization societies, were it not for the Negro element. The Indians, on the other hand, though they do not appear in any of our statistics, obviously represent the other extreme, and from the reports of Indian agents and other correspondents, it appears that they drink more for the sake of intoxication and less for social pleasure than any other race in our country, and that the effects of liquor upon them are worse. While the Negro recovers rapidly from the effects of drink, the drunken Indian is a person whom it is well to avoid.

We cannot draw conclusions from a study of occupations with the confidence which we feel in studying the different races, partly because it was not feasible to collect occupation statistics from the private societies, and partly because the occupations considered are so numerous that, in many cases, the totals for each occupation are very small, and the percentages are liable to be accidental. Such figures as we have show, however, that the saloon-keepers lead: 84 per cent. of those enumerated in almshouses are found to owe their condition to the use of liquor. Next come the sailors with 58 per cent., the butchers with 57 per cent., the printers and iron and steel workers with 55 per cent.

each. In general, the more skillful occupations do not make a favorable showing as compared with the unskilled. Thus the iron and steel workers and printers, the cooks and waiters, the machinists, all give a percentage of 50 or over, while laborers show but 44 per cent., mill operatives 43 per cent., and farmers 33 per cent. The intemperance of sailors is a familiar phenomenon, due partly to the fact that their life precludes the formation of a high standard of living or a settled domestic existence, and that, therefore, when turned adrift on land, they are very apt to spend their earnings in sensual enjoyment. In the case of the printers, machinists, and iron and steel workers, it is probable that their intemperance is due to the strain of working under high pressure, and to the exhaustion produced by unsanitary conditions. It should be said, however, that these figures do not necessarily measure the intemperance of the various occupations. We have counted, not the whole of the trade, but only those members of the trade who are in almshouses. In general, the higher the earnings of any person, the less likely is he to become a pauper except through some fault of his own. We should, therefore, naturally look for a large percentage of liquor cases in the better paid occupations. This same consideration should be borne in mind in interpreting the figures relating to other classes of paupers.

The charity organization societies deal in the main with adults, as do also the almshouses. As shown by our statistics, 45 per cent. of the inmates of almshouses enter between the ages of 50 and 69. In order to get a fair view, therefore, of the poverty occasioned by

drink, it is necessary to make a special investigation of destitute children. While the number of children studied by us is only 5136 as against some 37,000 adults, we believe that we have covered sufficient ground to indicate fairly how large a part of the destitution of children is due to the abuse of liquor. This part of the study was made through three different agencies: through societies for the prevention of cruelty to children and humane societies, dealing chiefly with children of the lowest class; through state organizations of the National Children's Home Society, dealing with many illegitimate infants; and through two state public schools, which are, in fact, state orphan asylums. The general average derived from these cases shows that nearly 45 per cent. of the children harbored owed their destitution to the intemperance of parents, while nearly 46 per cent. owed their destitution to the intemperance of parents and others together. The worst phase of the poverty occasioned by drink is thus seen to be in the fact, not that the drinker himself suffers, but that innocent persons suffer still more.

When we distinguish between the white and the colored children, we find the same contrast, though not so marked, as was found in the case of pauperism and poor relief, for of colored children, only 39 per cent. owed their condition to the drinking habits of parents or guardians, while nearly 46 per cent. of the white children were in this condition. Comparing children of native-born parents with those of foreign extraction, we find, as we found in the other studies, that the native Americans appear to advantage as compared with foreigners; $43\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. represented the propor-

tion of children of native parents, and 49½ per cent. the proportion of children of foreign parents whose poverty was brought on by liquor. If we still further analyze the parental condition of these children, we find, as might naturally be expected, that those whose father was foreign and mother unknown furnished the largest percentage of liquor cases, nearly 60½ per cent. in all, even more than were found where both parents were unknown. We also find that those who had a foreign father and a native mother supplied a larger percentage of liquor cases than those who had a native father and foreign mother. These figures confirm the results obtained from the study of pauperism and poverty, and indicate that, for some reason, the combination of a foreign father with a native mother, or a mother of unknown nationality, is particularly unfavorable to temperance.

Crime due to Liquor.

The study of crime offers peculiar difficulties. Crime being an intentional act, the causes must be facts which influence the motives of men. And as the motives of men are often mixed, it is evident that several motives may combine to cause a crime. Crime cannot, therefore, be attributed to a single cause as easily as poverty. This fact has necessitated a somewhat complicated method of classification, under which we have not only endeavored to ascertain how far intemperance was a cause of crime, but also how far it was a first, second, or third cause, and also how far it was found combined with other leading causes, notably unfavorable environment and lack of industrial training, in bringing about

crime. We have also been obliged to make a further distinction, and to separate crimes against the person from those against property. Our tables are thus much more intricate than those relating to pauperism and poor relief, but they also contain many facts which go beyond the immediate scope of our investigation, and which cannot fail to be of value to the criminologist. The danger of making sweeping statements with regard to intemperance as a cause of crime is nowhere better illustrated than in this section of our investigation, and the reader cannot be too strongly urged to study carefully for himself the tables and the explanation of them given by Mr. Koren before trying to reach general conclusions. A few only of the leading results need be referred to here.

The investigation covered 13,402 convicts, in seventeen prisons and reformatories scattered throughout twelve States. It was conducted with great care, in many instances by the chaplains, in others by the superintendents of the institutions in question. Of the total number of cases thus investigated, it appeared that intemperance figured as one of the causes of crime in nearly 50 per cent. It was, however, a first cause in only 31 per cent. While, therefore, intemperance appears to contribute to crime in nearly half the cases investigated by us, a result which is strikingly confirmed by the investigation of the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics for that State, it was almost always only one of several causes, and appeared as a leading cause in less than a third, and as the sole cause in but 16 per cent. The difference between the importance of liquor as a cause of crimes against pro-

perty and of crimes against the person is surprisingly small. It is, as would be expected, somewhat more prominent in crimes against the person, $51\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of such crimes being attributed to liquor, either on the part of the criminal or of others; but even in the case of crimes against property, the percentage is $49\frac{1}{2}$.

As in pauperism, however, we find considerable differences between the showing made by different nationalities; and the order in which the races are ranked when we consider intemperance as a cause in general of crime is similar to the order in which they are ranked when we consider it as a cause of pauperism, though the two are not identical. Thus the smallest percentage of crime due to intemperance, 25 per cent., is furnished by the Russians. Next come the Austrians with 34.62 per cent., the Germans with 44.87 per cent., the Italians with 50 per cent., the Americans with 50.23 per cent., the English with 52.92 per cent., the Poles with 53.41 per cent., the Scandinavians with 56.25 per cent., the Irish with 56.70 per cent., the Canadians with 56.74 per cent., the Scotch with 58.33 per cent. This table takes no account of the Negro race, who constitute but 2000 of the total jail population studied. If we compare them with the whites, we find a singular contrast to the results of the tables on pauperism and poverty; for while intemperance was a cause of poverty in but very few cases among the Negroes, it appears as a cause of crime in a larger proportion of cases than among the whites. This apparent contradiction finds its explanation in the fact already mentioned, that while the effects of liquor upon the Negro are apt to be temporary, they are, at

the same time, more acute. Thus a Negro under the influence of liquor is much more apt to commit some impulsive crime than a white man. He is, however, less apt to become permanently a slave of the habit and thus to sink into pauperism.

The Saloon.

Having considered the extent to which pauperism and crime are due to liquor, in our country, our investigation would be incomplete did we not give some attention to the means by which a large part of the liquor is conveyed to drinkers. The evils of excessive drinking are well recognized, and yet the saloon seems to flourish in spite of these evils. We must therefore analyze the saloon, as we have analyzed the statistics of pauperism and crime, and endeavor to learn its true nature. The reports which have been made for us in several large cities, especially Chicago, New York, Boston, and San Francisco, concur in showing that the saloon, though supplying the means of intemperance, is not exclusively devoted to this purpose. Its character differs naturally with the locality in which it is situated, and with the nationality and occupation of its patrons, but it generally attracts custom by ministering to the social wants of the poor man.[1] Here he finds companionship, recreation, literature, even kindness, and help in trouble. What should be more natural than that he should become its patron, even though the desire for drink may not be very strong?

[1] This feature of the saloon was graphically described more than a quarter of a century ago, by Charles Loring Brace, in *Dangerous Classes of New York*, p. 64.

This is seen in the fact that saloons flourish among nationalities like the Jews in New York, which are noted for their moderation.

The observation that the saloon is much more than a device for producing intoxication is confirmed by experiences which are not detailed in our report, but which have come to the writer from other sources. It has been found, *e. g.*, that in New Haven a coffee bar, established from benevolent motives next to a saloon and offering the same opportunities for sociability and recreation without intoxicating liquors, was able to drive the saloon out of business. A special sub-committee of the Committee of Fifty is making an investigation into substitutes for the saloon in large cities, and this subject will doubtless be treated much more fully in their report than it can be here.

The main fact, however, that the saloon is more than a mere drinking place, and that it supplies many legitimate wants besides the craving for intoxication, should be frankly recognized, and ought to be of help to those who are engaged in practical efforts to counteract the evils of intemperance. This part of our investigation has been carried on mainly through the agency of social and university settlements, and these institutions are already taking advantage of the knowledge gained in their daily experience with the poor to offer at least some of those counteracting attractions and positive forces without which the driving out of the spirit of drink will be of no avail.

V. ECONOMIC FORCES WORKING FOR AND AGAINST THE CONSUMPTION OF LIQUOR.

The large interests represented by the capital invested in the production and sale of liquors and the large number of persons who gain their livelihood in connection with it do not necessarily represent a force working for intemperance. They certainly indicate, however, some measure of the resistance which must be encountered in any effort to abolish or restrict the use of liquor, and they explain the success with which radical reformatory measures are often thwarted. Yet these figures, formidable as they are, are not altogether discouraging. The largest interests are represented by the least alcoholic beverages. While in 1890 the manufacture of malt liquors gave employment to 34,800 persons and yielded a product of $182,700,000, the manufacture of distilled liquors employed but 5343 persons and yielded a product of but $104,000,000.[1] And if we look at the consumption of liquors for a series of years, we find a marked decline in the more alcoholic varieties. Since 1840 there has been a steady substitution of malt liquors for distilled liquors in the consumption of the people.[2] The consumption of the latter has fallen from 2.52 gallons per capita to 1, while the consumption of the former has risen from 1.36 to 15.16. While there has been an increase in the total quantity consumed, the substitution of light drinks for strong drinks has brought about a diminution in the amount of alcohol consumed per capita.

[1] 12*th Annual Report of the Department of Labor*, p. 27.

[2] 12*th Annual Report of the Department of Labor*, p. 35.

Moreover, though the per capita consumption of malt liquors has been nearly stationary since 1890, the consumption of distilled liquors has fallen by nearly one third in that time. How far modern methods of production have influenced this change, how far it is due to German immigration or other causes, cannot be stated with certainty. The fact remains that our progress has been in the direction of moderation.

Nor does this seem to be fortuitous. There are very powerful economic forces which almost compel moderation in modern industry. It does not seem too optimistic to say that a complete change has taken place in the habits of the wage-earning class since the days, in the early part of this century, when men went on strike for the sake of getting their rations of rum. It was considered a remarkable achievement in 1817 for a ship to be completed, in spite of such resistance, without the use of liquor in any form,[1] and James Brewster had to overcome a long-established custom when he put a stop to drinking in his carriage factory in New Haven, early in the century.

This change has been furthered by two agencies: the self-interest of the employed on the one hand, and the self-interest of the employers on the other. Not only were rations of grog common among mechanics in the early days of the century, but the early labor organizations were almost always more or less associated with drink. It was common in England for the unions to meet in public houses, and a certain allowance, known as "liquor allowance," was made for drinks. Even as late as 1837, according to Mr. and

[1] Wright, *Industrial Evolution*, p. 276.

Mrs. Webb,[1] the rules of the Steam Engine Makers' Society directed that one third of the weekly contribution should be spent in the refreshment of the members. The executive committees of the larger societies, however, began to oppose this custom, and in the revision of 1846 the provision just quoted was left out of the rules of the society.

As the unions have become larger and wealthier, they have been able to emancipate themselves from the public houses by having their own places of meeting, while the importance of keeping sober during strikes has impressed itself more and more upon them. The very magnitude of their financial operations necessitates the election of temperate men to the higher offices, and the development of an elaborate system of insurance benefits gives each member a direct interest in the sobriety of his fellows. No member of a union wants to feel that his contributions, laboriously saved from small earnings, are to be used up for the support of a drunken fellow member.

What is true of English unions is true to a large extent of our own, and as far as their public utterances are concerned, our unions stand strictly for moderation, in spite of occasional lapses on the part of walking delegates and others. Injunctions in favor of moderation are found in many passages of their rules. Thus, in some cases, the rules provide that, if a man is discharged on account of drunkenness, no steps shall be taken to reinstate him, as in the case of the Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers. In many cases the liquor

[1] *The History of Trade Unionism*, p. 185.

traffic, as such, is tabooed, and a man who goes into it is excluded from the union. This is done by the Metal Polishers, the Core Makers, the Iron Moulders, the Retail Clerks, and the Knights of Labor. In still other cases the person is excluded from the benefits to which he would be entitled in case of sickness, accident, or unemployment. This is true of the Iron Moulders, the Blacksmiths, the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners, the Wood Workers, the Painters and Decorators, the Leather Workers on Horse Goods, the Tobacco Workers, the Cigar Makers, and the Retail Clerks. Many unions fine or otherwise punish those who attend meetings in an intoxicated condition, and the Trades and Labor Council of Fort Wayne, Ind., goes so far as to provide that "the Council shall never, on any occasion, where it is giving a demonstration, celebration, excursion, picnic, ball, or entertainment of any description, sell intoxicating liquors itself, or grant the privilege to sell intoxicating liquors to any person or persons, firm, society, or company."

The employers, on the other hand, equally feel the importance of sobriety as a means of preventing accidents, of insuring good work, and of securing responsibility. The report made by the Department of Labor on this subject reveals an agency which has hitherto been little noticed. The schedule of inquiries issued by the Department brought returns from over 7000 establishments, employing 1,700,000 persons. These establishments are no small fraction of the industry of the country. In transportation lines, 713 replied, representing 458,000 employees. Of the 6976 who

answered the specific inquiry regarding liquor, 5363 reported that means were taken to ascertain the habits of employees, and 1794 prohibited, more or less strictly, drinking. In most of these cases, the philanthropic motive seems to have counted for little. Of the 1794 who restrict their employees in the use of intoxicating liquors, 28 give as their reason, "to make good example for other employees;" two, "to guard against temptation;" and two, "for the good of employees." Generally, the object is either to prevent accidents, or to secure better work, better economy, or greater responsibility in positions of trust.

As more things are done by machinery, as trolley-cars supplant horse-cars, as implements of greater precision and refinement take the place of cruder ones, as the speed at which machinery is run is increased, as the intensity with which people work becomes greater, the necessity of having a clear head during the hours of labor becomes imperative, and the very conditions of modern business life necessitate sobriety on the part of the workers. Those who would find profitable employment realize more and more the importance of moderation in drink.

Our sub-committee, having been appointed to investigate the economic aspects of the liquor problem, has intentionally restricted itself to that field. This does not mean that the moral or other aspects of the problem are in its eyes unimportant; but inasmuch as these aspects are more commonly brought into prominence, it seems proper that this committee should emphasize the very great significance of the purely economic aspects, not only as indicating one phase of the evil,

but also an important and hitherto neglected agency for its cure. Moral agencies are often powerful means of reform. They are still more powerful if reinforced by economic considerations. Our investigation shows, as we believe, that economic forces are already working in the direction of moderation which need but be stimulated and directed to become effective allies of the moral agencies which are attacking the evils of the liquor habit.

Respectfully submitted for the Economic Sub-Committee.

HENRY W. FARNAM,
Secretary.

January, 1899.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORY OF THE INVESTIGATION.

THIS volume is the result of investigations into the relations of the liquor problem, (1) to poverty, (2) to pauperism, (3) to the destitution and neglect of children, (4) to crime, (5) to the Negroes of the United States, (6) to the Indians of the United States, and (7) the result of studies of social aspects of the saloon in large cities.

So broad a field of research had been mapped out that the impossibility of covering it adequately without generous and extensive coöperation on the part of competent investigators was at once apparent; for it was not so much the purpose to collect and compare already existing data, as to secure statistics and information at first hand. In a work of this nature the scope of the investigations and the methods and mediums of inquiry employed become of paramount interest to the reader.

Drink as a poverty-begetting cause has been studied among two groups of unfortunates sufficiently distinct to render misleading a comparison of statistics relating to them. The first group embraces mainly destitutes who are in need only of temporary relief, or who can be made at least partly self-supporting, with a sprinkling of the permanently poor not yet institutionalized; in other words, the group still struggles against pauperism and continues to mingle with the ordinary pop-

ulation of the cities. The second group consists of those whose poverty has become fixed and therefore hopeless, the true paupers, who have been consigned to that last haven of refuge, the almshouse.

Although the dividing line between poor and paupers, as maintained in this report, may seem somewhat artificial, since locally the two groups merge into each other at several points, and one is largely recruited from the other, their separation in an investigation of the present order appears, nevertheless, to be both natural and fair. While pauperism is but the final stage in the evolution of the needy, it does not necessarily spring from the same causes that marked the first stages in the process; and what applies to those who need but a helping hand in order to help themselves does not perforce apply to those for whom all hope has been abandoned.

For both groups the inquiry has, broadly speaking, been limited to the question, How far is intemperance the direct or indirect cause of want? Its correlative, How far is intemperance the result of want? has not been considered. One may well believe that many seek forgetfulness of poverty's spectre in drink, and that intemperance in general, prior to its becoming the cause of misery, is the effect of wretched social conditions among certain classes. But whether intemperance had its origin in despondency over impending want, or in despair bred by actual destitution, it soon ceases to operate as a result and becomes a cause of acuter distress. While it is true that cause and result may in numerous instances be so closely interwoven that one is easily mistaken for the other, it is only as a

cause of want that intemperance can be inquired into with some assurance of reaching definite conclusions.

POVERTY.

How far, then, is intemperance directly or indirectly the cause of poverty among the multitude of recipients of aid outside public institutions? Replies based upon special and exhaustive investigations have been sought through the medium of those who, in ministering to want, also seek to discover the causes of want, — principally workers in charity organization societies (associated charities) and kindred bodies. Although perhaps a majority of these societies tabulate annually the chief causes of distress, of which intemperance is one, among the cases coming under their care, it seemed probable that a searching fresh inquiry with regard to drink as a cause of poverty would yield more comprehensive and perhaps truer results. Communications were accordingly addressed to societies and individuals requesting their coöperation. The schedule plan of investigation was proposed, that is, an investigation by means of blanks calling for specific information, which were to be filled out, one blank for each case of distress investigated in the course of future twelve months, the person applying for assistance being considered as the "case," whether representing only himself or a family.

In addition to particulars concerning age, sex, residence, place of birth, citizenship, etc., it was endeavored to ascertain, relative to drink as the cause of present poverty, whether it was due, (1) to personal use or abuse of intoxicants, or (2 and 3) to the intemperate

habits of parents or guardians, especially in the case of a young person, or (4) to the intemperate habits of others (not parents nor guardians). It will be seen that the last query was intended to cover all cases of adults who have indirectly become the victims of drink, whether they be aged persons whom inebriate children neglect to support, or deserted or widowed women who owe their present distress to the intemperate habits of the husband.

In response to the requests of the committee, forty-six agencies, including a few representatives of official benevolence, signified their willingness to participate in the proposed investigation. Of the last-mentioned all have failed, for various reasons, to complete the inquiry, or regarded it impracticable to pursue the methods suggested. Of the charity organization societies and allied bodies, but two refused to give their services for other reasons than their inability to do so; thirty-three generously redeemed their promises and finished the task undertaken; and eight gave up the attempt, in three instances on account of the death of the agents who began the work. The thirty-three organizations represent the same number of cities in eighteen States and the District of Columbia. To those familiar with organized charity work it will at once be plain, from the list of names printed elsewhere, that a large majority of the best equipped societies have taken part in the investigation. Some of those remaining passive exist hardly more than in name, while others are mainly relief-giving organizations working on the old charity lines.

Statistics have been obtained relative to 29,923

causes of distress. Nearly all [1] the societies have furnished particulars concerning every case, either new or recurrent, coming under their observation during various periods of twelve months, stretching from about May, 1896, to June, 1898, with the exception that some, for lack of specific information, decided not to enter "office cases" (mostly tramps and beggars about whom little could be learned) on the schedules. The instances in which already existing records were depended upon rather than a fresh inquiry comprise about one thousand of the total number of cases reported.

We have, then, a mass of statistical material from many cities with populations by no means identical, collected by persons of different temperaments, mental habits, degrees of training, who have worked under dissimilar conditions, and are no more free from prejudices than the rest of humanity. There is admittedly a danger that the "personal equation" may become a disturbing element in an investigation like the present. Yet it may fairly be asked if it has not, on the whole, resulted in truer averages than would an investigation in which each case has been examined through the same spectacles. The degree of uniformity discernible in the returns is, furthermore, no absolute criterion of their accuracy. Some general observations, deducible from the returns themselves, on the causes that make for a divergence of the statistics gleaned by the charity

[1] The Charity Organization Society of New York reported cases for something over three months, that of Baltimore for three months, while the returns from the Chicago Bureau of Associated Charities are mainly from the Stock Yards District.

organization societies are in place. The elements of population, chief occupations, and general social conditions all play an important part. It makes a marked difference whether data relative to intemperance are drawn from a population largely native born, or from one in which a foreign nationality predominates. It makes a difference whether the units entering into such statistics are from a place in which the deaf and dumb, the blind, the feeble-minded, and demented have been institutionalized, or from a place in which these classes still mingle with the general population. Some of the societies have their work in communities where the standard of living and average intelligence are high, some in places of the opposite characteristics, for instance, in factory towns where low wages and a low moral tone prevail; some deal largely with the degraded poor who merely seek alms, others more with the self-respecting unfortunates; and some are representative of newer localities in which industrial conditions may at times produce acute distress, but where, on the whole, comparatively few families bear the stigma of permanent and incurable poverty.

It has been our constant endeavor to counteract any possible tendencies among investigators either to undervalue or to exaggerate the importance of intemperance as the cause of poverty. Through voluminous correspondence as well as through personal interviews in many instances, it has been possible to carefully define the bearings of the principal questions asked, and to warn against a too broad or too narrow interpretation of the schedule. Among the points emphasized in the general instructions, the following may be mentioned:

To give a case the benefit of reasonable doubt; to proceed on the principle of "sufficient cause," that is, to give intemperance as the cause of distress when, aside from other contributing causes, it appears sufficient to have produced want; not to regard the expenditure of a portion of the daily wage for liquor, if unaccompanied by habitual drunkenness or incapacity for work, as the cause of distress, unless such expenditure produces want for the family while a daily wage is being earned; to inquire minutely into the indirect effects of drink, particularly in the cases of women who have lost their husbands, or been deserted by them; to answer all questions definitely whenever possible, thus avoiding the introduction of large unknown statistical quantities.

It is freely confessed that not all sets of schedules bear evidence of equally careful research. Of the localities returning a comparatively low percentage of intemperance, some appear to have been less thoroughly canvassed than others. But where the divergence from the average has been conspicuous, the reasons for it have been sought and usually obtained. In order to prevent errors, thousands of schedules were returned for corrections and verifications to those filling them out. In addition to the information called for in the blank, many organizations have given a concise history of the case, thus affording an opportunity to judge of the facts upon which the conclusion as to intemperance rests. It is interesting to observe that some of the collaborators have found their statistics, the accuracy of which they insist upon, to be quite at variance with their own theories or anticipations.

So far as known, no investigation on precisely the same lines has been undertaken by others. In his admirable work, "American Charities," Professor Warner has tabulated interesting statistics relative to the causes of poverty, based upon the case records of the charity organization societies of Baltimore, Boston, Buffalo, Cincinnati, and New York for the years 1890–91 and 1891–92. They differ from those given in this work in essential respects. Not only is the number of cases reported much smaller, being less than 6500 for either year, but it is also much less representative, being derived from only five cities. The scope of his inquiry was also quite another. The several causes of destitution were sought, thus precluding the possibility of a minute inquiry into the direct and indirect bearings of inebriety as a cause, which, as will be seen later, affects the results materially. Other similar investigations made in this country and in England deal exclusively with the almshouse population, and will be mentioned under another head. In the "Armenstatistik des Deutschen Reichs" (part of the general census of 1885), Böhmert's "Das Armenwesen in 77 Städten Deutschlands," Dr. Ernest Mischler's "Das Armenwesen in Steiermark," and the few other publications of continental Europe dealing with the causes of destitution, the recipients of public aid have generally been lumped together with the paupers in almshouses. This fact alone, aside from other weighty considerations, renders comparisons of doubtful value.

PAUPERISM.

Among the second group of destitutes, the inmates of pauper establishments, the study of inebriety as a cause of pauperism is beset with peculiar difficulties. Here greater dependence must be placed on the personal statement of the individual concerned than on the knowledge and observations of others. Within the walls of the almshouse some of the habits of the former life must be suppressed. The official record tells perhaps who the inmate is and whence he came, but not what he was nor how he lived. After years of an apathetic existence as a public charge, the true perspective of the past, if he ever saw it, may be lost to the inmate himself, and there may be no one to tell his story or who has ever cared to learn it. How rare is the superintendent of an almshouse who takes further interest in his wards than to feed and clothe them need not be mentioned to those who are acquainted with pauper administration in this country, tinged as it is with penny politics and subject to incessant rotation in office. Hence the officials whose immediate services could safely be enlisted in the investigation were few in number. Scores of requests for coöperation were made in vain; and occasionally, as later developments have shown, confidence was misplaced.

In some of the largest almshouses (New York city, Baltimore, Cook County, Ill., and in all the New Jersey institutions), the statistical material was obtained by trained agents chosen for this particular work; in all others, through superintendents and their assistants. Similar methods of inquiry were followed as for the

first group, the relations of inebriety to pauperism being ascertained through the same set of questions. A total of 8420 inmates of fifty institutions in ten States is accounted for in the returns. The very unequal representation of the different States is due to the impossibility of securing the right sort of investigators, and the weeding out of worthless or incomplete schedules.

Besides the personal equation, cognizance must be taken of the fact that in this investigation the statistical evidence rests so largely on the personal statement of the individual concerned. What allowance must be made for it? In a number of the smaller institutions intimate knowledge of the histories and families of inmates has enabled the investigators to guard against possible deception. In the largest almshouses such knowledge must, of course, be exceedingly scant. But in these, whenever possible, a verification of the purely personal statements was sought outside the institution. Thus, for example, agents of the New York Charity Organization Society generously reinvestigated many of the cases reported from the almshouse of that city; that is, made inquiries among the friends, relatives, former employers of the paupers, and others. Similar safeguards were resorted to elsewhere, with the result that the original statements obtained were found incorrect or doubtful in so small a proportion of cases as not to affect perceptibly the general results one way or the other. All our experience tends to confirm the conviction that, when approached with requisite tact, inmates of almshouses are, on the whole, disposed to tell the truth about themselves so far as they realize it. The

feeling that otherwise would make for concealment of the past does not thrive amid the environments of the almshouse.

The variety of conditions from which almshouse populations are recruited in the different communities is necessarily reflected in the statistics of intemperance. Paupers in remote country districts do not share all the characteristics of paupers in a metropolis. Neither does one find every poorhouse to be just what the name would imply. Some institutions are truly asylums for the "aged and infirm," others contain at seasons a large quota of fairly able-bodied tramps and sots. One community will huddle all its dependents, paupers, insane, feeble-minded, and demented, under the same roof, while another will provide separate establishments for the different classes of dependents. Occasionally one finds an almshouse to which, in lieu of a more convenient place, magistrates are in the habit of sending all habitual drunkards. Or an institution may be partly a home for paupers and partly a free hospital for the sick, whether actually destitute or not. It has been the aim to exclude from the returns all but genuine paupers.

An exhaustive study of the relations of intemperance to pauperism in the State of Massachusetts has been made by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of that State (26th Annual Report, 1895). Mr. Charles Booth has made available information on the same subject for the Stepney and St. Pancras workhouses in England. The German, French, Austrian, and Swiss statistics dealing with the causes of pauperism have already been referred to; they do not afford a basis for fair comparisons.

DESTITUTION OF CHILDREN.

That drink is associated with much of the neglect and destitution suffered by children has long been a familiar fact to charity workers, but thus far it has escaped systematic study. The casual references to it in institution reports and a few statistical publications do not afford much useful information. On the other hand, a separate inquiry into the matter is held superfluous by some, who argue that the same causes which are active in the production of poverty and crime among adults must necessarily work destitution and neglect among children. According to this reasoning, the number of children whose lives have been blighted by the intemperate habits of others is pretty much in direct ratio to the number of children whose parents have become impoverished or criminal through drink. But neither is this assertion demonstrable, nor does it cover the whole subject. It is thinkable that of the thousands of children who become charges upon public and private charity some, whose parents are not paupers or criminals, may nevertheless owe their plight to intemperance. One need but think of the swarms of illegitimate children, the orphans and half orphans, and of those for whom the natural supporters cannot find bread, though able in a measure to take care of themselves. It is, therefore, both a legitimate and important question to ask to what extent the neglect and destitution of children is due to the intemperate habits of their parents, guardians, or others; and it demands separate investigation. This has been attempted by the statistical method. Although but little detailed

information was asked, comparatively few representatives of child-saving agencies would take the trouble to ascertain it when in position to do so. The indifference of officials to a study of the causes of the misfortune to which they are daily witnesses was more pronounced than in the investigations relative to pauperism and crime. A majority of the requests for coöperation remain unanswered, or were replied to in a manner which precluded further correspondence.

The nature of the information sought has been sufficiently indicated. After eliminating much material for lack of completeness, there were left as the results of the investigation 5136 cases of children to be tabulated. They were obtained through the kindness of officers of the National Children's Home Society in Colorado, New York, and Nebraska, the Board of Children's Guardians in Indiana, the State Public Schools of Minnesota and Wisconsin, and Humane Societies or Societies for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children in New York, Illinois, and Connecticut.

CRIME.

Although a connection between drink and crime seems definitely established, the possibility of determining statistically how far inebriety causes crime is doubted by many. Even among those who do not adopt the theory of a discoverable anthropological type of criminals, some whose opinions carry weight attach slight importance to intemperance as an active and immediate cause of criminal conduct, especially among young criminals, while freely admitting that it is one of the causes of hereditary degeneration. And in the

degenerate condition of the organism of the criminal they find, as a rule, the real cause of anti-social conduct. The many heinous acts committed by persons while under the influence of liquor seem to contradict this view; yet, even in such instances, it may be questioned, so it is held, how far the criminal intent, the predisposition to wrong-doing, was the product of alcoholism. In the whole realm of crime, of which offenses of a violent nature constitute but the smaller part, it is unquestionably true that he who, in seeking out the causes of crime, does not give some heed to bio-psychical conditions, and to conditions of physical environment, is almost sure to go wrong. To put it differently, some knowledge of a criminal's bodily and mental characteristics, as well as of the surroundings amid which he had his being, is indispensable to a correct understanding of what actually gave him a criminal bent. The common assumption that because a criminal confesses to occasional or habitual inebriety, it follows that drink first led him to a condition which induced the crime, has destroyed the value of a multitude of current statistics, so called. If it be true, as seems universally admitted, that most criminals begin dishonesty when under twenty years of age, and perhaps one half before the age of fifteen, while inebriety seldom becomes a fixed habit before majority is attained, then conclusions as to the cause of criminal conduct drawn merely from present drink habits are not only perilous, but generally worthless.

Since we must recognize other abundant causes of crime than drink, but also that intemperance, if not a primary cause of crime, may have been an excitant to

misconduct of secondary or even remoter importance, the first step in this investigation was to devise a scheme of inquiry which, although brief and simple, would bring out the essential facts in their proper relations. It has been sought to cover the all-important ground by a schedule containing these queries: —

"Did any of the following causes lead to a condition which induced the crime: (*a*) Unfavorable environment of birth and early life, such as parental neglect, want of education, etc.? (*b*) Lack of industrial training? (*c*) Intemperance: (personal?) (ancestral?) (of associates?)"

It might have been interesting to elaborate the schedule, asking with regard to intemperance, for instance, when drinking first began; when habitual inebriety became fixed; whether any deep-seated malady had followed or preceded intemperance, either causing it or not; whether vitality had in some way become exhausted before intemperance became a habit, etc. But brevity and simplicity were essential in order to get any results. By demanding consideration of perhaps the two most fruitful generic causes of crime besides intemperance, it was hoped that the main factors in the production of criminals could be studied, not only independently, but in their relation to each other. As a further means to this end, the investigator was requested to "state relative rank of the causes enumerated (*a*, *b*, *c*,), if more than one of them must be considered in the present case." That is, the causes were to be grouped according to their relative importance as first, second, or third. The schedule also called for information relating to place of birth, kind of crime for

which committed, and whether it was a felony or misdemeanor. The last-mentioned distinction seemed important in view of the generally accepted fact that the proportion of misdemeanants whose criminal career has been influenced by the liquor habit is very much greater than that of felons. To maintain this distinction in the tabulation was, however, impossible, because the terms felony and misdemeanor lack a uniform definition in the laws of different States. Moreover, from the nature of the prisons dealt with, the percentage of convicts committed for misdemeanors was insignificant in proportion to their whole number.

It seemed prudent to restrict the investigation to convicts in state prisons and reformatories for adults. While it is probable that by including inmates of minor penal establishments, such as houses of correction and workhouses, results in a measure different might have been obtained through this inquiry, it is no less certain that a confusing element would thereby have been introduced in the statistics. For in workhouses and similar institutions many suffer confinement who are not criminal in the true meaning of the word; for example, the thousands whose only offense is intoxication, and who never have injured either person or property so as to become amenable to the law, and perhaps never will. Again, it is notorious that some minor prisons contain not a few who are paupers rather than criminals, persons put away under vagrant acts, for begging on the streets, and the like. Other classes of occasional prisoners who do not properly belong in the category of criminals might be mentioned. Superadded to these considerations was the knowledge that only in the most

important prisons may one expect to find the intelligence and deep-seated interest requisite for carrying on successfully so delicate an investigation as the one to be entered upon. There is not and cannot be awakened, so it seems, among prison officers generally, an active interest in the subject of crime causes; and where such interest exists, the uncertainty of the value of the information received, owing to the form and manner of seeking it, should never be left out of the reckoning. In illustration, the story may be recalled of an attempt made quite long ago in the English prisons to ascertain through the chaplains how far intemperance and vicious literature entered into the causes leading to crime. The inquiry, which covered the English prisons generally, revealed to a painful degree that the trend of the answers secured depended very largely upon the questioner's attitude of mind. Thus, in one prison where the chaplain was a crank on the subject of vicious literature, the prisoners almost to a man attributed their crime and imprisonment to the influence of penny-a-liners; while in another prison, having a chaplain of violent anti-liquor sentiments, nearly all the convicts ascribed their downfall to drink.

Indiscriminate coöperation being undesirable in this investigation, the number of institutions from which statistics could be asked with reasonable confidence in their accuracy became proportionately restricted. Acquaintance with criminals and their ways, as well as personal knowledge of the convicts about whom information was sought, being regarded as necessary, special agents could not be employed. In some places the investigations have been made by chaplains, in others by

wardens or, under the latter's immediate supervision, by subordinate prison officers.

It has been our first aim to insure a uniform interpretation of the schedule through personal interviews or through letters. The general instructions pointed out, among other things, that the sole purpose should be to seek the truth, and not facts to support any theory; that the mere use of liquor, even if bordering upon abuse, does not prove drink to have been the crime cause; that the commission of a criminal act while under the influence of liquor is not *per se* evidence that intemperance led to a condition inducing the crime; that the liquor habit may often be the concomitant of an idle and criminal life rather than its cause; that any previous grouping of convicts according to their supposed liquor habits should be disregarded; that the proneness of convicts to make the liquor habit a convenient excuse for their misdeeds, especially where they suspect that the interrogator would welcome such a statement because it agrees with his preconceived ideas, must be guarded against; and the equal danger of attempts to minimize the effects of intemperance was emphasized. The method of procedure recommended was, first, to learn the particulars about the convict's early life, family relations, associations, schooling, occupation, and what training they had for it, reserving questions regarding personal habits to the last.

Statistics relating to 13,402 convicts have been obtained from seventeen prisons in twelve States. Five are state reformatories for adults, that is, for males between the ages of sixteen and thirty, and twelve are state penitentiaries. In three instances the data relate

only to the convicts admitted during twelve months; in the remaining institutions they relate to the entire prison population present during the period of investigation. The failures to complete the work or to do it in such a manner as to deserve confidence were few. Although it would be idle to maintain that statistics resulting from so extremely difficult an inquiry have quite escaped being colored by the mental attitude of the investigator, a sharp lookout has been kept for the manifestations of any such tendency. Schedules giving evidence of a probable misconception of any question, or exhibiting a marked one-sidedness of results, no matter in which direction, have been returned for revision if unaccompanied by satisfactory explanations. In consequence, some of the work has practically been done twice.

The relations of intemperance to crime have been treated statistically in the 12th and 26th Annual Reports of the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics, by Mr. Dugdale in "The Jukes," in the "Statistique Penitentiaire Suisse," 1893, and in a few minor publications. With the exception of Mr. Dugdale's work, these reports deal with convicts of all grades from each penal institution in the State or country. For this reason, and because radically different methods of inquiry have been employed, their results are not readily comparable with those presented in this volume.

NEGROES.

Interest in the relations of the Negroes to the liquor problem has waned perceptibly since slavery days.

Formerly, self-interest compelled the masters to check the spread of the liquor habit among them by every known device. The black codes, as is well known, abounded in strict prohibitions against the sale of intoxicants to all but white men, under the severest penalties. Now that the Negroes have so long been without other guardians of their potential habits than themselves, it is asked how far the removal of special barriers to their indulgence in liquor has had serious consequences to the race, and what are their present relations to the liquor question. It is perhaps not too much to say that until quite recently this matter has received but scant and withal superficial attention, even from the closest students of the colored people. Like other aspects of the Negro problem, it is full of perplexities which at the present time defy the ordinary statistical inquiry. Existing race prejudices frequently cast doubt upon the trustworthiness of public records and other data from which one would like to make inferences. The investigator, if not meeting with indifference, may find his attempts to study the habits of the Negro balked by suspicions or open hostility. Beyond all this is the immensity of the subject, and the consequent difficulty of making deductions applicable to millions of beings living under different conditions and scattered over a continent.

The present investigation was undertaken in the hope that, if nothing further could be gained, it might be possible to delineate broadly and with some distinctness the chief characteristics of the Negro with respect to the use and abuse of intoxicants and their effects. A series of questions bearing upon this subject, with

special reference to observations concerning the most obvious results of intemperance, was submitted to a carefully chosen number of prominent men in the Southern States, accompanied by a letter of explanations. About one hundred replies, representing every State below the Mason and Dixon line, have been received from officials, large employers of colored labor, merchants, professional men, and others, many of whom offered information and observations at length. To these statements the writer has been able to add the results of his personal investigations in a number of Southern centres. A more comprehensive knowledge of conditions in typical Negro communities being still a desideratum, well-known colored men in different walks of life and some white educators laboring among the Negroes were asked to prepare brief local studies for the use of the committee, and according to its suggestions; for the white stranger cannot hope to penetrate more than the outer shell of the social fabric in black-belt communities. The average native white man is rarely found to speak without prejudice. Most of the local reports, of which a synopsis is given elsewhere, are from the pens of colored men.

INDIANS.

In the chapters of the United States Statutes relating to Indian affairs, the clauses prohibiting drink selling to Indians occupy a conspicuous place. And before the present reservation plan was put into operation, while the red man roamed at large in forest and on prairie, state legislatures were busy with schemes to keep the whiskey jug away from him. Aside from

motives of self-preservation underlying much of the earlier legislation, it appears to be founded on the assumption that drink is one of the most potent causes of moral and physical degeneration among the Indians. Considerable evidence on this point is scattered throughout the reports of Indian agents published annually by the Department of the Interior. The salient features of these reports for a number of years, so far as they deal with the drink problem, have been summarized, together with statistics showing the outcome of attempts to enforce the law. It has also been sought to gain more precise knowledge about the Indian appetite for intoxicants and the consequences of this appetite, as well as of the efficacy of the present means for preventing drink selling, through special reports from a number of the best known Indian agents. The aim has thus been rather to put into available shape already existing data than to present results of original investigations, for which the means were not within reach.

SOCIAL ASPECTS OF THE SALOON.

Among the most important, yet until recently much neglected, aspects of the liquor problem are those touching its relations to comforts, luxuries, pleasures, sanitary conditions, and the like. Questions such as these, How far is the liquor habit counteracted by home comforts, properly cooked food, coffee houses, amusements, and outdoor sports? How far is the liquor habit the result of defective conditions, for example, lack of food, bad or badly cooked food, bad ventilation, or defective drainage of dwellings and

workshops? — questions like these have usually been relegated to the background, if given any place on the programme of the average temperance-worker. In the warfare against the saloon, its place in our social economy has been overlooked, and its abolition demanded, heedless of the wants it supplies and the crying need of discovering adequate substitutes for it. So, too, the liquor habit has generally been accepted as the source of all social ills, while it may largely result from defective conditions for which others than its victims may justly be held responsible. These phases of the liquor problem are but dimly perceived by the casual observer who judges by surface indications. To probe them to the bottom one must know — and it is a knowledge only to be acquired slowly through association — what manner of men pay the heavy tribute to the saloon, their habits of life at home and in the shop, their wants and desires. The saloon itself, no more than its habitués, can be studied honestly from outside. Under the most favorable circumstances, however, a search for facts which can be accepted as conclusive evidence is likely to prove baffling; for the statistical method cannot be applied to the questions under consideration except in a very limited way. The replies which at present can be made to them must be in the nature of deductions from a mass of careful observations and accurate descriptions of local conditions in various centres of population.

Both from the character of their mission and position in their respective communities, workers in social, college, or university settlements have unusual opportunities for first-hand acquaintance with the particu-

lar relations of the drink problem indicated. An appeal to make them objects of special study on behalf of the committee met with ready response from some twenty settlements. A set of suggestions regarding the line and methods of investigation to be pursued was prepared for their use. But for various reasons, chief among them, apparently, the difficulty of the work, the reports from this source have not been so numerous or so comprehensive as anticipated; neither do they attempt to deal with more than a small part of the originally contemplated research. Some of these reports in a somewhat condensed form, relating principally to the social aspects of the saloon, together with results of the writer's personal studies, are given a place in this volume.

CHAPTER II.

THE LIQUOR PROBLEM IN ITS RELATIONS TO POVERTY.

1. *By Color.*

THE colored people are not represented in our returns in proportion to their numbers throughout the country; they constitute but 9.45 per cent. of the total number of cases investigated. With few exceptions, our statistics are derived from Northern cities in which the colored population is comparatively small or practically wanting. Yet in many places the Negroes do not come under the treatment of organized charity in the proportion their numbers and economic condition would seem to warrant. Charity that does not take the form of immediate almsgiving appeals little to the average Negro. In the Southern cities, the color line invades even organized charity. In the returns from Wilmington, N. C., for instance, not a single colored person appears among the applicants for relief, and in Louisville, Ky., we find only 105 colored out of a total of 644, etc.

Notwithstanding the disparity in the representation of the white and colored races, our statistics show conclusively that drink as a direct or indirect cause of poverty is more prevalent among the white than among the colored, almost in the proportion of two to one. This fact stands out prominently in Summaries I.

and II. The percentage of white applicants for relief who owe their poverty to the personal use of liquor is more than twice as large as that of the colored. A similar proportion is observable between the percentages of white and colored whose condition is due to the intemperate habits of others. We arrive at the

SUMMARY I.

APPLICANTS FOR RELIEF AS AFFECTED BY THE PERSONAL USE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS, BY COLOR.

	White Applicants.				Colored Applicants.				Aggregate of Applicants.			
	Condition due to personal use of liquor.	Condition not due to personal use of liquor.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total.	Condition due to personal use of liquor.	Condition not due to personal use of liquor.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total.	Condition due to personal use of liquor.	Condition not due to personal use of liquor.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total.
Number.	5263	20124	1704	27093	259	2450	121	2830	5521	22574	1825	29923
Per cent.	19.43	74.28	6.29	100.	9.15	86.57	4.28	100.	18.46	75.44	6.10	100.

SUMMARY II.

APPLICANTS FOR RELIEF AS AFFECTED INDIRECTLY BY THE INTEMPERATE HABITS OF OTHERS, BY COLOR.

	White Applicants.				Colored Applicants.				Aggregate of Applicants.			
	Condition due to intemperate habits of others.	Condition not due to intemperate habits of others.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total.	Condition due to intemperate habits of others.	Condition not due to intemperate habits of others.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total.	Condition due to intemperate habits of others.	Condition not due to intemperate habits of others.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total.
Number.	2658	14876	9559	27093	144	1905	781	2830	2802	16781	10340	29923
Per cent.	9.81	54.91	35.28	100.	5.09	67.31	27.60	100.	9.36	56.09	34.55	100.

same results when the returns of the individual organizations reporting are examined. Taking the seven cities showing the largest number of colored applicants, as exhibited in Table I. of the Appendix, we find in Washington, D. C., intemperance as the direct cause of want in 22.15 per cent. of the white as against 11.12 per cent. of the colored; in Cincinnati, the same percentages stand 15.17 and 4.46; in Baltimore, 13.44 and 2.52; in Wilmington, Del., 23.64 and 10.24; in New Haven, 15.00 and 2.43; in Indianapolis, 23.19 and 11.04; in Louisville, 25.42 and 8.57. These figures are, on the whole, more favorable to the colored race than the corresponding summary for all places. So similar are the inferences to be drawn, both from Summary II. and the corresponding Appendix table, that we need not dwell on them. It is interesting to note that Professor Warner found about the same percentage of intemperance among Negroes as we, namely, 6.23 per cent.

A fuller treatment of the general relations of the colored people to the drink problem is given in a separate chapter.

2. *By Sex.*

That intemperance is *par excellence* a vice of the male sex is a matter of too universal knowledge to need statistical confirmation. Yet it has hardly been attempted to fix with any degree of accuracy the relations of the sexes in this respect, much less with regard to the bearing of intemperance upon the condition of poverty. Summary III. shows the sexes to be divided fairly evenly as to number, with the males in slight

preponderance. Of all females, however, only 12.46 per cent. have become dependent through personal intemperance as against 22.77 per cent. of the males. From untabulated data we learn that married women are more given to the liquor habit than the unmarried, while the reverse is true concerning men. Intemper-

SUMMARY III.

APPLICANTS FOR RELIEF AS AFFECTED BY THE PERSONAL USE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS, BY SEX.

	Male Applicants.				Female Applicants.				Aggregate of Applicants.			
	Condition due to personal use of liquor.	Condition not due to personal use of liquor.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total.	Condition due to personal use of liquor.	Condition not due to personal use of liquor.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total.	Condition due to personal use of liquor.	Condition not due to personal use of liquor.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total.
Number.	3966	12388	1064	17418	1558	10186	761	12505	5524	22574	1825	29923
Percent.	22.77	71.12	6.11	100.	12.46	81.45	6.09	100.	18.46	75.44	6.10	100.

SUMMARY IV.

APPLICANTS FOR RELIEF AS AFFECTED INDIRECTLY BY THE INTEMPERATE HABITS OF OTHERS, BY SEX.

	Male Applicants.				Female Applicants.				Aggregate of Applicants.			
	Condition due to intemperate habits of others.	Condition not due to intemperate habits of others.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total.	Condition due to intemperate habits of others.	Condition not due to intemperate habits of others.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total.	Condition due to intemperate habits of others.	Condition not due to intemperate habits of others.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total.
Number	663	9093	7662	17418	2139	7688	2678	12505	2802	16781	10340	29923
Per cent	3.81	52.20	43.99	100.	17.10	61.48	21.42	100.	9.36	56.09	34.55	100.

ance among single women who are engaged in domestic service is surprisingly common. Prostitutes, of whom a considerable number is reported, seem to become applicants for charity on account of disease rather than drunkenness.

When the statistics of some single organizations are examined (Appendix, Table III.), the proportion of females whose condition of dependence is attributed to the personal use of liquor appears in conflict with our summary; and this is unrelated to the fact that occasionally more women than men come as applicants before a charity organization. The nationality and occupations of a majority of the female cases are factors reflected in the percentages, and will under given conditions tend to increase the amount of poverty due to drink. On the other hand, when the cause of poverty remains unknown for an unusually large number of women, it follows that the percentage of intemperance must be correspondingly lowered. Furthermore, the same percentages are affected when, for instance, the cause of the condition is unknown with regard to a greater number of one sex than of the other.

In the single instance of the New York Charity Organization Society, however, it is made to appear that the male applicants are really more temperate than the female. The explanation is simple. In the course of the investigation, or during a great part of it, this society did not make use of our special schedule, but merely reported on each case whether intemperance was at the bottom of the trouble, and did not distinguish clearly between the direct and indirect effects of

the liquor habit. Thus it came to pass that not a little of the intemperance for which men bear the responsibility has been attributed to women.

That the Grand Rapids society reports such a remarkable excess of male applicants is wholly due to peculiar local conditions.

No other table makes so clear the poverty, misery, and shame endured by thousands round about on account of a vice for which they are generally not to blame, as Summary IV. Nearly 10 per cent. of our applicants belong to these unfortunates, over two thirds of them being women, — wives and mothers. Hidden in the percentages is a multitude of stories of wrecked homes, ruined lives, cruelty, hunger, disease, and bitter degradation; and the brunt of it all is borne by the gentle sex. It must not be understood, however, that the men and women who have been affected by the liquor habits of others are themselves invariably models of sobriety. In some cases both the personal use of liquor and the intemperate habits of others have coöperated to produce poverty.

The importance of a thorough investigation of intemperance as an indirect cause of poverty is best seen when we turn to detail Table IV. in the Appendix. Organization after organization would have made it appear that drink after all is not such a prolific source of want, had they concerned themselves merely with the effect of the applicant's use of liquor. That the various organizations have arrived at such diverging percentages of poverty attributable indirectly to drink for both sexes is generally due to one of three causes. The percentages in question are naturally smallest

where the least attention has been paid to this part of the investigation. This accounts for the figures for Cincinnati, New Haven, Denver, and a few other places.

Where the percentage of females whose condition is due to the intemperate habits of others is disproportionately large, it will as a rule be found that the female applicants greatly outnumber the males. This is the case, for instance, in Baltimore, San Francisco, Louisville, Rochester, Worcester, and other cities. Coupled with this factor is always the care bestowed upon this part of the inquiry.

Some organizations more frequently than others ascribed the condition of poverty both to the personal abuse of liquor and to the intemperate habits of others in the case of the same person. This explains the divergence between the percentages for the aggregate and the sum of the percentages for the sexes; it is also the reason why, in a few places, we find an unusual number of males who are said to have become destitute indirectly through drink.

3. *By Nativity of Applicants and Parent Nativity.*

Imagine the 29,923 applicants for relief with whom our statistics deal passing by in procession. In vain we should search our memory for a civilized people in the world lacking representatives in that throng. And scattered among them would be found men of stranger races, — South and North American Indians, Esquimaux, Hindoo Coolies, Chinese and Japanese, African-born Negroes, a solitary Australasian aborigine, etc. The white American type would not predominate, for

although a little more than one half of these men and women are native born, both parents of nearly this one half are not natives of the United States. In other words, it is positively known that but 29.61 per cent. of all the applicants are both of native birth and of full native parentage. Could we obliterate the percentage (16.60) of those whose parentage remains wholly unknown, we should probably have left a still smaller number of applicants who can claim American extraction as well as American nativity. We should keep this fact in mind when considering applicants for relief as affected by the personal use of liquor by nativity.

The fairest view of the question of nationality as related to drink is obtained when we confine our attention to the personal use of liquor. While we find in Summary V. that 17.09 per cent. of the native born have become destitute through this cause, we learn from Summary VI. that it has been operative in but 15.01 per cent. of those whose parentage is known to be native both as to father and mother. In spite of a feeble representation of some of the nationalities, which might seem to preclude final conclusions about the liquor habit of those belonging to them, we believe that reliable inferences can be made from the statistics, the more since the returns from the different organizations, taken by themselves, fully bear out what the figures in Summary V. indicate.

Taking the foreign-born applicants as well as the native of native parentage, and ranking the nationalities according to the extent to which the personal use of liquor occurs as the cause of poverty, we get the

following order: (1) Irish, 29.86 per cent.; (2) Scotch, 21.59 per cent.; (3) Canadian, 21.02 per cent.; (4) English, 18.83 per cent.; (5) Scandinavian, 16.58 per cent.; (6) American, 15.01 per cent.; (7) German, 14.47 per cent.; (8) Polish, 12.14 per cent.; (9) Austrian, including Hungarian, 7.77 per cent.; (10) Russian, 4.33 per cent.; and (11) Italian, 1.29 per cent. If we consider those who are native born as Americans, regardless of the fact that perhaps half of them are of foreign extraction, the American nationality advances one place and ranks after the English.

Among the foreign born classed as Canadians, a large number of French and a respectable proportion of those of Irish and Scotch extraction are included. A majority of these are from the Dominion, the Provinces not being strongly represented in the returns. Most of the applicants given as Russians are Hebrews. One rarely encounters intemperance as the cause of poverty among Hebrews of other countries. In stating the causes of distress among 7500 cases dealt with by the United Hebrew Charities of Chicago in 1893–95, the superintendent of this organization does not mention drunkenness in a single instance.

Turning to the question of poverty as induced by the intemperate habits of the parents of the applicants, shown in the second division of Summary V., it is natural that the native born should be prominent with a large percentage, namely, 2.68. Only in the case of children and very young persons was it practicable to trace the influence of the parental liquor habit with some degree of certainty. In the case of adults, parental intemperance independent of the habits of the sub-

ject in question was rarely found as the cause of distress. Reference to Summary VI., however, makes it clear that the drunkenness of parents affected the lives of but 1.85 per cent. of the native born of American extraction. The unexpected percentage of poverty due to intemperance of parents among the Poles may be regarded as purely accidental. During a winter of severe distress, a single charity organization society happened to deal with an unusual number of Polish children.

In the division "Condition due to the intemperate habits of others," in Summary V., we find the order of nationalities changed. The first place is taken by the Canadian, with the others ranging in the following order: Irish, English, American, German, Scotch, Scandinavian, etc. The totals in this column represent principally women who have been brought to want through the drunkenness of husbands, by whom they in many cases have been deserted, or whom they have left. As we have already shown, very few men become charges upon charity through the intemperance of their wives. Aged persons whom intemperate descendants or other relatives fail to support figure to a very slight extent. Here our statistics do not afford quite so accurate a test of the liquor habits of nationalities; for while the nationality of the woman suffering from the intemperance of her husband may be known, the husband's nationality may be another. Yet among the class of people appearing in our returns, marriage outside the nationality is the exception. Without attempting to discover all the causes combining to make the nationalities appear in the order named with

respect to poverty caused by "intemperance of others," the liquor habit certainly affects conjugal relations in different nationalities in dissimilar ways.

Summary VI. tells us that the percentage of applicants of native parentage who have become destitute through the intemperate habits of others, that is, chiefly husbands, is larger than the corresponding percentage of applicants who are native born. It is evident from a study of the data of individual organizations that the American woman is quicker to seek divorce from or leave her husband than her sister of different blood. This seems likewise true to some extent of Canadians, while among the Irish and perhaps among the Scotch greater toleration of the liquor habit on the part of the wife is apparent. On the other hand, desertions of their wives by intemperate men of Irish extraction are conspicuously frequent.

The last division in Summary V. sums up intemperance as a direct and indirect cause of poverty, and yields percentages for the different nationalities that leave them practically in the order first mentioned. Considered as a whole, our data illustrating the relation of different nationalities to drink confirm the experience of charity-workers and students.

The groups of applicants of mixed parent nativity, as well as those in which the nativity of either parent is unknown, afford some highly suggestive percentages, albeit the unknown quantities introduce a large element of uncertainty which forbids too special analysis. As we have said, comparatively few of the dependent classes marry outside their own nationality. Thus in the group, "Father native, mother unknown," we should

in most cases find that both parents were of the same race, the difference being that one was born in the United States and the other abroad. This likewise holds true of the next group, where the order in regard to the birthplace of parents is reversed. A comparison of the percentages in these two groups cannot yield very definite conclusions.

For the last four groups we have the general fact that the percentages of intemperance with one exception are larger in each division than in the two immediately preceding. When we say that these groups include the lowest classes of the poor, both in point of morals and intelligence, the statement is based upon a study of the units forming the totals in question. That applicants are ignorant of the nativity of one or both parents is in a large number of cases due to the looseness of the marital relations of the parents. We are therefore justified in reading in some of these heavy percentages of intemperance the consequences of lack of proper parental care. The percentages in the second division for the last four groups are particularly striking; and that the largest amount of drink falls to the last group ("Father unknown, mother foreign") is perfectly natural, for in it are found the relatively largest number both of adults and children who are the offspring of illegitimate relations. We know from other sources that a majority of women who become mothers without legal sanction are of foreign birth. This seems to afford some explanation of the discrepancy in the percentages between the last and the next preceding group. The small totals, however, make these percentages very questionable.

SUMMARY V. *Applicants for Relief as affected by the Use of Intoxicating Liquors, by Nativity of Applicants.*

NATIVITY OF APPLICANTS.		Condition due to personal use of liquor.	Condition not due to personal use of liquor.	Cause of condition not reported.	Condition due to intemperate habits of one or both parents.	Condition not due to intemperate habits of one or both parents.	Cause of condition not reported.	Condition due to intemperate habits of natural or legal guardians.	Condition not due to intemperate habits of natural or legal guardians.	Cause of condition not reported.	Condition due to intemperate habits of others, not parents or guardians.	Condition not due to intemperate habits of others, not parents or guardians.	Cause of condition not reported.	Condition due to intemperate habits of applicants, parents, guardians, or others.	Condition not due to intemperate habits of applicants, parents, guardians, or others.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total applicants.
Native born.	Number.	2914	13176	958	457	12195	4396	96	10561	6391	1169	9608	6271	4073	12048	927	17048
	Per cent.	17.09	77.29	5.62	2.68	71.53	25.79	0.56	61.95	37.49	6.86	56.36	36.78	23.89	70.67	5.44	56.97
Foreign born.																	
England.	Number.	262	1043	87	23	1057	312	5	895	492	114	804	474	349	956	87	1392
	Per cent.	18.83	74.92	6.25	1.65	75.93	22.42	0.36	64.30	35.34	8.19	57.76	34.05	25.07	68.68	6.25	4.65
Scotland.	Number.	68	227	20	2	249	64	1	190	124	17	178	120	85	210	20	315
	Per cent.	21.59	72.06	6.35	0.63	79.05	20.32	0.32	60.31	39.37	5.39	56.51	38.10	26.98	66.67	6.35	1.05
Ireland.	Number.	1381	2974	270	85	3406	1134	17	3051	1557	538	2648	1439	1750	2619	256	4625
	Per cent.	29.86	64.30	5.84	1.84	73.64	24.52	0.37	65.97	33.66	11.63	57.26	31.11	37.84	56.63	5.53	15.46
Canada.	Number.	132	461	35	12	473	143	7	417	204	72	366	190	193	403	32	628
	Per cent.	21.02	73.41	5.57	1.91	75.32	22.77	1.11	66.40	32.49	11.47	58.28	30.25	30.73	64.17	5.10	2.10

Germany.	Number.	430	2407	134	18	2186	767	4	2057	910	184	1900	887	599	2241	131	2971
	Per cent.	14.47	81.02	4.51	0.60	73.58	25.82	0.13	69.24	30.63	6.19	63.95	29.86	20.16	75.43	4.41	9.93
Sweden and Norway.																	
	Number.	97	465	23	3	489	93	–	430	155	29	398	158	123	439	23	585
	Per cent.	16.58	79.49	3.93	0.51	83.59	15.90	–	73.50	26.50	4.96	68.03	27.01	21.03	75.04	3.93	1.96
Italy.	Number.	3	208	23	–	187	47	1	147	86	4	152	78	8	204	22	234
	Per cent.	1.29	88.89	9.82	–	79.91	20.09	0.43	62.82	36.75	1.71	64.96	33.33	3.42	87.18	9.40	0.78
Russia.	Number.	9	189	10	1	173	34	–	146	62	4	140	64	14	184	10	208
	Per cent.	4.33	90.86	4.81	0.48	83.17	16.35	–	70.19	29.81	1.92	67.31	30.77	6.73	88.46	4.81	0.70
Poland.	Number.	42	282	22	10	262	74	–	254	92	13	244	89	53	271	22	346
	Per cent.	12.14	81.50	6.36	2.89	75.72	21.39	–	73.41	26.59	3.76	70.52	25.72	15.32	78.32	6.36	1.15
Austria.	Number.	16	175	15	–	174	32	–	166	40	8	160	38	23	168	15	206
	Per cent.	7.77	84.95	7.28	–	84.47	15.53	–	80.58	19.42	3.88	77.67	18.45	11.16	81.56	7.28	0.69
All other countries.																	
	Number.	113	654	54	5	624	192	2	568	251	28	554	239	141	626	54	821
	Per cent.	13.76	79.66	6.58	0.61	76.00	23.39	0.24	69.18	30.58	3.41	67.48	29.11	17.17	76.25	6.58	2.74
Unknown.	Number.	57	278	209	4	200	340	1	170	373	31	140	373	88	251	205	544
	Per cent.	10.48	51.10	38.42	0.74	36.76	62.50	0.18	31.25	68.57	5.70	25.73	68.57	16.18	46.14	37.68	1.82
Total.	Number.	5524	22539	1860	620	21675	7628	134	19052	10737	2211	17292	10420	7499	20620	1804	29923
	Per cent.	18.46	75.32	6.22	2.07	72.44	25.49	0.45	63.67	35.88	7.39	57.79	34.82	25.06	68.91	6.03	100.

SUMMARY VI. *Applicants for Relief as affected by the Use of Intoxicating Liquors, by Parent Nativity.*

PARENT NATIVITY.	Condition due to personal use of liquor.	Condition not due to personal use of liquor.	Cause of condition not reported.	Condition due to intemperate habits of one or both parents.	Condition not due to intemperate habits of one or both parents.	Cause of condition not reported.	Condition due to intemperate habits of natural or legal guardians.	Condition not due to intemperate habits of natural or legal guardians.	Cause of condition not reported.	Condition due to intemperate habits of others, not parents or guardians.	Condition not due to intemperate habits of others, not parents or guardians.	Cause of condition not reported.	Condition[a] due to intemperate habits of applicants, parents, guardians, or others.	Condition not due to intemperate habits of applicants, parents, guardians, or others.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total applicants.
Both parents native.																
Number.	1330	7159	372	164	7552	1145	42	6966	1853	694	6355	1812	2003	6493	365	8861
Per cent.	15.01	80.79	4.20	1.85	85.23	12.92	0.47	78.62	20.91	7.83	71.72	20.45	22.60	73.28	4.12	29.61
Both parents foreign.																
Number.	3269	11202	797	321	11526	3421	59	9770	5439	1237	8782	5249	4291	10209	768	15268
Per cent.	21.41	73.37	5.22	2.10	75.49	22.41	0.39	63.99	35.62	8.10	57.52	34.38	28.10	66.87	5.03	51.03
Both parents unknown.																
Number.	724	3592	650	79	2029	2858	26	1873	3067	215	1692	3059	914	3420	632	4966
Per cent.	14.58	72.33	13.09	1.59	40.86	57.55	0.52	37.72	61.76	4.33	34.07	61.60	18.40	68.87	12.73	16.60
Father native, mother foreign.																
Number.	37	139	5	11	135	35	1	115	65	16	100	65	57	119	5	181
Per cent.	20.44	76.80	2.76	6.08	74.58	19.34	0.55	63.54	35.91	8.84	55.25	35.91	31.49	65.74	2.77	0.61

Father foreign, mother native.	Number.	52	183	10	10	186	49	1	151	93	13	134	98	71	165	9	245
	Per cent.	21.23	74.69	4.08	4.08	75.92	20.00	0.41	61.63	37.96	5.31	54.69	40.00	28.98	67.35	3.67	0.82
Father native, mother unknown.	Number.	60	153	13	14	145	67	3	74	149	17	130	79	85	129	12	226
	Per cent.	26.55	67.70	5.75	6.19	64.16	29.65	1.33	32.74	65.93	7.52	57.52	34.96	37.61	57.08	5.31	0.76
Father foreign, mother unknown.	Number.	26	47	8	6	45	30	1	35	45	12	38	31	36	37	8	81
	Per cent.	32.10	58.02	9.88	7.41	55.55	37.04	1.23	43.21	55.56	14.82	46.91	38.27	44.44	45.68	9.88	0.27
Father unknown, mother native.	Number.	18	51	1	10	45	15	–	51	19	4	45	21	30	39	1	70
	Per cent.	25.71	72.86	1.43	14.29	64.28	21.43	–	72.86	27.14	5.72	64.28	30.00	42.86	55.71	1.43	0.23
Father unknown, mother foreign.	Number.	8	13	4	5	12	8	1	17	7	3	16	6	12	9	4	25
	Per cent.	32.00	52.00	16.00	20.00	48.00	32.00	4.00	68.00	28.00	12.00	64.00	24.00	48.00	36.00	16.00	0.07
Total.	Number.	5524	22539	1860	620	21675	7628	134	19052	10737	2211	17292	10420	7499	20620	1804	29923
	Per cent.	18.46	75.32	6.22	2.07	72.44	25.49	0.45	63.67	35.88	7.39	57.79	34.82	25.06	68.91	6.03	100.

That we are left in ignorance concerning the parentage of so many is, of course, partly due to imperfect investigation, but no less to the lack of knowledge of the applicants themselves.

4. *By Political Condition.*

Information about the political condition of applicants for relief is of value chiefly in illustrating how far those who have become such on account of drink are citizens or belong to the alien in the land. In determining the question of political condition, the wife and children of a naturalized citizen, so far as they appeared as applicants, were classed as naturalized. The facts were not easily obtained, and in consequence the percentage of unknown in Summary VII., as well as in the two preceding summaries with which it is closely related, is very high.

It would follow from the analysis of our statistics by nativity of applicants and parent nativity that the percentage of citizen-born applicants who are brought to want through personal intemperance would be smaller than that of the naturalized. And we actually find it to be about one third less. That the naturalized applicants appear nearly twice as intemperate as the alien is explained by the fact that the representatives of the hardest-drinking foreign nationalities, Irish, Scotch, Canadian, etc., are the first to acquire citizenship. A large part of the aliens, on the contrary, is made up of the more temperate nationalities, Russian Hebrews, Italians, Austrians, Poles, and to some extent Germans, not to mention the unclassified foreign born, of which Spaniards, Mexican, Portuguese, and West Indians

SUMMARY VII. *Applicants for Relief as affected by the Use of Intoxicating Liquors, by Political Condition.*

POLITICAL CONDITION.		Condition due to personal use of liquor.	Condition not due to personal use of liquor.	Cause of condition not reported.	Condition due to intemperate habits of one or both parents.	Condition not due to intemperate habits of one or both parents.	Cause of condition not reported.	Condition due to intemperate habits of natural or legal guardians.	Condition not due to intemperate habits of natural or legal guardians.	Cause of condition not reported.	Condition due to intemperate habits of others, not parents or guardians.	Condition not due to intemperate habits of others, not parents or guardians.	Cause of condition not reported.	Condition due to intemperate habits of applicants, parents, guardians, or others.	Condition not due to intemperate habits of applicants, parents, guardians, or others.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total applicants.
Citizen born.	Number.	2914	13176	958	457	12195	4396	96	10561	6391	1169	9608	6271	4073	12048	927	17048
	Per cent.	17.09	77.29	5.62	2.68	71.53	25.79	0.56	61.95	37.49	6.86	56.36	36.78	23.89	70.67	5.44	56.97
Naturalized.	Number.	1642	4519	294	82	4761	1612	16	4256	2183	449	3912	2094	1966	4209	280	6455
	Per cent.	25.44	70.01	4.55	1.27	73.76	24.97	0.25	65.93	33.82	6.96	60.60	32.44	30.46	65.20	4.34	21.57
Alien.	Number.	612	3382	266	68	3314	878	18	2868	1374	426	2539	1295	973	3022	265	4260
	Per cent.	14.37	79.39	6.24	1.60	77.79	20.61	0.42	67.33	32.25	10.00	59.60	30.40	22.84	70.94	6.22	14.24
Unknown.	Number.	356	1462	342	13	1405	742	4	1367	789	167	1233	760	487	1341	332	2160
	Per cent.	16.48	67.69	15.83	0.60	65.05	34.35	0.18	63.29	36.53	7.73	57.08	35.19	22.55	62.08	15.37	7.22
Total.	Number.	5524	22539	1860	620	21675	7628	134	19052	10737	2211	17292	10420	7499	20620	1804	29923
	Per cent.	18.46	75.32	6.22	2.07	72.44	25.49	0.45	63.67	35.88	7.39	57.79	34.82	25.06	68.91	6.03	100.

form a respectable contingent; and all these nationalities are slow in becoming naturalized. Of the number of applicants whose political condition is unknown, more than one half belong to English-speaking nationalities. Exact knowledge of the subject, therefore, would probably help to swell the percentage of drink attributed to naturalized applicants to a perceptible degree.

In apparent contradiction to the percentage of aliens who have become impoverished through personal intemperance is the relatively larger percentage of aliens whose condition is due to the intemperate habits of others. In the fourth division of our summary, the aliens are seen to hold first rank. A careful study of the data from individual organizations indicates, however, that of 426 persons (nearly all women) whose condition is stated to be due to intemperate habits of others, a majority are of English, Canadian, Irish, and German birth, wherein is sufficient explanation.

5. *By Resident and Non-Resident Applicants.*

The question whether applicants for relief are residents or non-residents of the city from which reported was incorporated in our schedules in the hope of getting some light on the liquor habits of tramps and other professional beggars; for the majority of non-residents appealing to charity, especially in the smaller cities, belong primarily to the order of tramps or wandering mendicants. Our efforts in this direction met with many obstacles. The term "non-resident" is far from being uniformly applied. Moreover, it was declared by many competent investigators to be

impossible to learn the truth about persons whose mendacity is often a part of their stock in trade. These persons appear at the offices of charity societies and, if unsuccessful in obtaining direct alms, depart, leaving only a name behind, which as likely as not is fictitious. For these reasons most organizations regarded it as useless to report non-resident cases, except

SUMMARY VIII.

RESIDENT AND NON-RESIDENT APPLICANTS FOR RELIEF, BY SEX.

	Male Applicants.			Female Applicants.			Aggregate of Applicants.		
	Resident.	Non-resident.	Total.	Resident.	Non-resident.	Total.	Resident.	Non-resident.	Total.
Number.	12100	5318	17418	11852	653	12505	23952	5971	29923
Per cent.	69.47	30.53	100.	94.78	5.22	100.	80.05	19.95	100.

where real distress was apparent, and an opportunity given to probe it outside the office. More than one half of our non-resident cases have been reported by the Organized Charities Association of New Haven, Conn., which included all comers in its returns. The relation of itinerant applicants for relief to the liquor problem must therefore await further study, although our fragmentary research brings out some facts of special interest. Summary VIII. indicates that relatively few females belong to the class of roving beggars or tramps.

Summary IX. shows the largest number of resident applicants to belong to the age period, 30–39. Yet we

found the percentage of intemperate persons to be relatively larger in the next age period, 40–49. Among the nearly 1000 resident applicants of the age of 70 years and over, very few were discovered to be addicted to the liquor habit. Eight of these persons had passed the century mark only to find themselves thrown upon

SUMMARY IX.

RESIDENT AND NON-RESIDENT APPLICANTS FOR RELIEF, BY AGE PERIODS.

Resident and Non-resident.	Age Periods.													Total.
	Under 1 year.	1–4.	5–9.	10–14.	15–19.	20–29.	30–39.	40–49.	50–59.	60–69.	70–79.	80 years and over.	Age not reported.	
	Number.	Number.	Number.	Number.	Number.	Number.	Number.	Number.	Number.	Number.	Number.	Number.	Number.	
Resident.	1	17	44	134	396	3609	7183	5663	2740	1810	800	193	1362	23952
Non-resident.	–	4	6	18	405	2380	1643	758	330	133	35	7	252	5971
Total.	1	21	50	152	801	5989	8826	6421	3070	1943	835	200	1614	29923
Per cent.	–	0.07	0.17	0.51	2.67	20.02	29.50	21.46	10.26	6.49	2.79	0.67	5.39	100.

the bounty of strangers, one of them having reached the extreme age of 107 years.

About three fourths of the non-residents were between 20 and 29 years of age, that is, on the whole, much younger than the residents, but in proportion more drinkers were discovered among non-residents 30–39 years of age.

Our next two summaries, X. and XI., exhibit residents and non-residents by their own as well as parent nativity. As the table of age periods leads us to

expect, considerably more than one half of the non-residents are native born, yet only 27.67 per cent., or a little more than one fourth, have native parents. It may be taken for granted that most of those whose

SUMMARY X.

RESIDENT AND NON-RESIDENT APPLICANTS FOR RELIEF, BY NATIVITY OF APPLICANTS.

Nativity of Applicants.	Resident.		Non-resident.		Total Applicants.	
	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.
Native born	13432	56.08	3616	60.56	17048	56.97
Foreign born.						
England	958	4.00	434	7.27	1392	4.65
Scotland	201	0.84	114	1.91	315	1.05
Ireland	3854	16.09	771	12.91	4625	15.46
Canada	475	1.98	153	2.56	628	2.10
Germany	2656	11.09	315	5.28	2971	9.93
Sweden and Norway	453	1.89	132	2.21	585	1.96
Italy	214	0.89	20	0.33	234	0.78
Russia	162	0.68	46	0.77	208	0.70
Poland	317	1.32	29	0.49	346	1.15
Austria	169	0.71	37	0.62	206	0.69
All other countries	656	2.74	165	2.76	821	2.74
Unknown	405	1.69	139	2.33	544	1.82
Total	23952	80.05	5971	19.95	29923	100.

parentage remains unknown are not of American extraction. Descendants of native parents usually know themselves to be such, and are proud to state the fact. A comparison of residents and non-residents by nationalities is highly significant. The English, Scotch, Canadians, and Scandinavians contribute to the whole army of applicants a relatively larger percentage of

non-resident applicants than of residents; not so, however, the Irish and still less so the German. This is by no means purely a statistical accident. We believe the figures truthfully represent the roving disposition of the English as contrasted with the German love of a fixed abode. On the other hand, we know about

SUMMARY XI.

RESIDENT AND NON-RESIDENT APPLICANTS FOR RELIEF, BY PARENT NATIVITY.

Parent Nativity.	Resident.		Non-resident.		Total Applicants.	
	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.
Both parents native	7209	30.10	1652	27.67	8861	29.61
Both parents foreign	12058	50.34	3210	53.76	15268	51.03
Both parents unknown . .	4126	17.23	840	14.07	4966	16.60
Father native, mother foreign .	105	0.44	76	1.27	181	0.61
Father foreign, mother native .	137	0.57	108	1.81	245	0.82
Father native, mother unknown	183	0.76	43	0.72	226	0.76
Father foreign, mother unknown	66	0.27	15	0.25	81	0.27
Father unknown, mother native	45	0.19	25	0.42	70	0.23
Father unknown, mother foreign	23	0.10	2	0.03	25	0.07
Total	23952	80.05	5971	19.95	29923	100.

the Canadians that their number of non-residents is swelled by immigrants of French extraction who come to work in the States for a season, but do not remain long enough to acquire a residence. The totals for the Scotch, Scandinavian, and the last four groups of nationalities are too small to permit safe deductions.

The significant fact in the next summary is that the citizens born constitute a relatively larger percentage

of the non-residents than the aliens and naturalized taken together. So far as our statistics go, they indicate that the problem of the semi-pauper and semi-criminal classes is a problem only remotely connected with the question of immigration.

We come to the last table in the present chapter, which sums up the results of our research into the

SUMMARY XII.

RESIDENT AND NON-RESIDENT APPLICANTS FOR RELIEF, BY POLITICAL CONDITION.

Political Condition.	Resident.		Non-resident.		Total Applicants.	
	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.
Citizen born	13432	56.08	3616	60.56	17048	56.97
Naturalized	5455	22.78	1000	16.75	6455	21.57
Alien	3270	13.65	990	16.58	4260	14.24
Unknown	1795	7.49	365	6.11	2160	7.22
Total	23952	80.05	5971	19.95	29923	100.00

relations of intemperance to poverty. Before taking up the final analysis of the percentages exhibited in Summary XIII., the reader should be placed in a position to judge correctly the statistics presented by the individual charity organization society as seen in detail Table XIII. of the Appendix, from which the general averages are derived. For the sake of brevity, we refer to these organizations by the names of their respective cities.

Perhaps the most striking feature of the returns

from the thirty-three cities is the uniformity in the essential results. In the first five cities given, the greatest difference in the amount of poverty attributed to drink is between Baltimore and San Francisco, places separated by the breadth of the continent; yet the percentages of intemperance are not far apart, being 21.04 for Baltimore and 28.98 for San Francisco. Seventeen cities, representing no less than fourteen States, show a divergence from the mean not exceeding 6.50 per cent. in a single instance, and this number comprises nearly all the principal centres of population.

We mention in the Introduction certain factors that of necessity must affect the returns from different localities; such as elements of population, chief occupations of applicants, whether the latter come from the lowest class of the poor or from the more worthy, whether they are mainly homeless men or members of families, the kind of liquor laws prevailing, and the manner of their enforcement. The wide variety of local conditions and characteristics reflected in the statistics goes far toward determining the discoverable amount of intemperance. Nevertheless, it does not always follow that local conditions play the part a superficial judgment would attribute to them. When it is known, for example, that the statistics from Chicago pertain almost exclusively to inhabitants of what is called the Stock Yards District, one having a casual acquaintance with that locality would naturally expect to find a very large percentage of poverty ascribed to the abuse of liquor. But this is not the case, in spite of local peculiarities that would seem to foster the

liquor habit. Our very competent investigator describes the Stock Yards District of Chicago in the following words: —

"Probably 80 per cent. of the families registered are dependent in some way upon the United Stock Yards and affiliated packing-houses. They are practically all of resident families. Very few homeless men ever apply at the office. . . . There are no large tenement houses, little overcrowding, and many vacant spaces. There is a frightful condition in regard to sanitation, — open sewers, unconnected closets, few garbage boxes, and countless foul odors, and all the accompanying abuses of the great industry upon which the community depends. There is a constant cloud of smoke hanging over the neighborhood, which irritates the throat and lungs. All these combined give some portions of the district (and those are the portions from which a large percentage of the names sent were obtained) the highest death rate in the city. The population is mixed in about the proportion shown in the schedules, save that, as usual, the Irish are more than proportionally represented, and perhaps the Poles and Bohemians scantily. The wage system in the Yards is such as to demoralize character. All pay is by the hour, and all the plants have a capacity far beyond their needs, so that it is seldom necessary to keep stock any length of time. Hence work is extremely irregular and almost always less than full time. Many families earn less than six dollars a week the year round. Hundreds of men are working with no idea whether they will work two hours or fourteen, or be entirely idle the next day. Again, many firms pay in checks which can only be

cashed, ordinarily, in saloons. Every entrance to the Yards is surrounded by saloons, and it is customary for the men to come out and sit around these saloons on benches provided for the purpose, and eat their dinners. In the winter the saloons provide rooms with benches and tables, where the lunches may be eaten. Hence the pail of beer is an almost invariable accompaniment of the meal.

"Taking the district as a whole, I should not call it by any means an intemperate one. Drunken men are very seldom seen, and a very large per cent. of the drinking is from 'growlers.' There are few low-grade dance halls (not more than four or five in the whole neighborhood), only one or two gambling dens, practically no houses of ill-fame, and no lodging-houses or like disreputable resorts. The entire territory included in the above description comprises about five square miles, with about 150,000 inhabitants."

We shall better understand how far local conditions influence the percentages of poverty attributed to intemperance when we account for the most marked divergences from the general average exhibited in the statistics from the different places. Beginning with Pawtucket, R. I., the city showing the heaviest percentage of poverty due to intemperance, namely 57.61, we learn that the Associated Charities of the place is also an association giving direct alms from its own funds. Hence it proves singularly attractive to the unworthy poor, the indolent, beggars, and topers. Pawtucket and the adjoining city, Central Falls, which is also represented in the returns, have together about 50,000 inhabitants, most of whom are mill opera-

tives and shop hands. On the whole, these cities do not compare favorably with the general type of New England mill towns of like size, owing in part to their being practically manufacturing suburbs of Providence. Visible inebriety is very common. Including apothecary shops, about 220 licensed places under law supervision supply liquor to the thirsty inhabitants.

The next highest percentage of poverty attributed to drink, 54.43, is in New Brunswick, N. J. It will be observed that the total number of cases accounted for is very small. These words of the investigator seem to explain the situation: "In the first years of the Charity Organization Society, different classes of poor were entered; now almost exclusively the lowest apply. . . . In a population of about 20,000, or a little under this number, we are said to have 98 licensed saloons. They are a *very low* class of saloons, and the liquor laws are *not* enforced."

In Bayonne, N. J., 53.97 per cent. of the poverty treated by the Charity Organization Society is found to be due to intemperance. We quote from a letter written by the head of this society: "The character of our population, the notoriously lax administration of the liquor laws, and the irregularity of employment doubtless account to a large extent for the high percentage. . . . The police make no effort to enforce the law which forbids the sale of liquor to minors, for example. . . . A large number of men are employed as day laborers on the coal docks, whose work is uncertain and probably does not average over four days a week. I regard this as a very important factor in the connection I mention. Another important factor

which should not be overlooked is that for a number of years our school facilities have been inadequate, so that the enforcement of the truancy law has been impossible. The effect of this is far-reaching, as our records bear evidence." The Bayonne investigation appears also to have been conducted on somewhat unusual lines. For it is said that, "in assigning the abuse of liquor as a direct or indirect cause of the distress of a family, the determining consideration was not the question of actual drunkenness, but whether the amount of money habitually spent on liquor was sufficient to impoverish the family." (See Introduction, p. 46.)

It should be noted that the three cities just mentioned are among the smallest in our tables.

The very high percentage of drink in Cambridge, Mass., a no-license city, is not so easily accounted for. It is within easy reach of the Boston saloons, and the comparatively low rentals in the portion of the city nearest Boston may attract drinking classes. The enormous annual expenditure of the municipality for public relief undoubtedly draws many unworthy poor to Cambridge. Further explanations may be found in the fact that the investigation was most searching, and that so many applicants are of Irish birth or parentage.

Eleven cities give percentages of poverty due to drink varying from 31.07 to 43.48. With the exception of Buffalo, they may all be considered cities of the third class in point of population. The slight divergence of the percentages of those of the eleven cities — New York, Chicago, Brooklyn, Baltimore, San Fran-

cisco, Buffalo, Washington, etc. — closest to each other as to the number of inhabitants and general features merits attention.

Since our statistics merely depict the relation of poverty to drink, and are not indicative of the average inebriety of the citizens of one place as compared with those of another, it should not surprise us that the largest cities exhibit the smaller amount of poverty attributable to intemperance. In the great centres the stress of life bears hardest on the artisan and laborer. Nowhere else is competition so fierce or employment so difficult to obtain. Thither drift multitudes of unskilled and ignorant men and women in often futile search for work. For these and other equally obvious reasons, it follows that the proportion of persons who through no misconduct of their own are forced to ask charity holds some relation to the magnitude of the city.

Cincinnati, New Haven, and Denver, in the order named, are seen to rank lowest as to the percentages of poverty caused by drink. In Cincinnati nearly all the very numerous new cases of distress, that is, persons applying for aid for the first time, benefited by the stand taken by the investigator, that since he had not known the condition of these persons long and intimately, he was disinclined to report intemperance as the cause of distress unless apparent without special investigation. This and the fact that no effort was made to ascertain how far poverty is caused indirectly by drink give Cincinnati a percentage of poverty attributable to intemperance lower, we believe, than a more searching inquiry would have yielded.

Of the 3516 cases investigated in New Haven, only 522 were resident. The number of the latter, the cause of whose condition is not reported, is greater than the number of persons found to be impoverished through drink. This singular fact is duplicated in the instance of only one other city, namely, Denver. The mass of the New Haven cases are non-resident, and for that reason were not readily investigated. A hurriedly noted personal statement of the applicant was about all that could be obtained. Persons of the tramp and beggar classes are proverbially untruthful. Unless the investigator exercises his judgment very freely, he is not likely to put down many as intemperate.

We have already indicated one reason for the low percentage of drink returned from Denver. Another is that the investigators centred their attention on the personal use of intoxicants, giving comparatively little heed to drink as an indirect cause of want, as may be gleaned from the detail tables.

We have briefly accounted for the most marked divergences from the mean. The fact remains that the lowest percentage returned from the thirty-three cities is not only higher than the figures for intemperance given for the same city in the annual tabulation of the causes of distress, but very much higher than the figures found in the reports of nearly all charity organizations. In other words, the discrepancy between the returns from various cities as shown in our tables is not so startling as the discrepancy between the general results of the present investigation and the results gleaned from previous tabulations from the case records of different charity organization societies. It is suffi-

cient to mention that the examination made by Professor Warner (American Charities) of 6450 cases of distress recorded by the charity organization societies of Baltimore, Boston, Buffalo, Cincinnati, and New York in the year 1891–92 yielded 11.4 as the average percentage of poverty caused by drink, Buffalo standing at the foot of the list with 8.1 per cent. The percentage for the same cities (exclusive of New York) for the preceding year was a trifle over 12. What is the explanation? The distinguishing trait of the present investigation, as compared with previous ones, or those made by charity organization societies in the ordinary course of their work, is its more searching character. Ours is the first attempt in this country at a special and comprehensive inquiry, based upon original data, into the relations of poverty to the liquor problem. Moreover, it is the first time that an effort has been made to give full weight to intemperance as an indirect cause of want.

Our failure to embrace other well-known causes of distress does not, we are confident, exaggerate drink as a cause of distress. It should be remembered that the truthfulness of the statistics is vouched for, not by agents of the Committee of Fifty, but by officials of the respective charity organization societies who have collected the information. They were asked to report facts and nothing more. Whatever results might be arrived at could have no possible effect upon the treatment of the individuals under their care. This fact may to some extent have removed the very laudable desire observed in some places not to enter liquor as the cause of distress on the records of the society unless nothing else is admissible, in order not to preju-

dice the case if a future application for relief is made. The agents could have no motive in wishing to swell the averages. Indeed, they were the most surprised to discover how widely the liquor habit affects the lives of their poor. Fearful that they might have unwittingly made extravagant statements, some subjected their schedules to a revision, with the deliberate purpose of giving every doubtful case the benefit of reasonable doubt, yet failed to reduce perceptibly the percentage of intemperance. Others frankly expressed the opinion that the full effects of the liquor habit are not shown in their returns. And this in the face of the fact that their previous tabulation of poverty causes had shown intemperance to take a much lower rank.

As final results of the investigation, we find that of the 29,923 cases reported, 18.46 per cent. owed their poverty to personal use of liquor, 2.07 per cent. to the intemperate habits of one or both parents, 0.45 per cent. to the intemperate habits of natural or legal guardians, and 7.39 per cent. to the intemperate habits of others, not parents or guardians.

The general average percentage of poverty due directly or indirectly to drink is 25.06, with 6.03 per cent. of the total number of cases unaccounted for. This general average percentage is smaller than the sum of the percentages in the first four divisions of Summary XIII. because, in some instances, the condition of an individual was found to be due to more than one of the causes enumerated. The amount of poverty induced by drink not being a quantity measurable mathematically, the percentage 25.06 simply stands for such approximate expression of the truth of the matter

SUMMARY XIII. *Resident and Non-Resident Applicants for Relief as affected by the Use of Intoxicating Liquors.*

RESIDENT AND NON-RESIDENT.		Condition due to personal use of liquor.	Condition not due to personal use of liquor.	Cause of condition not reported.	Condition due to intemperate habits of one or both parents.	Condition not due to intemperate habits of one or both parents.	Cause of condition not reported.	Condition due to intemperate habits of natural or legal guardians.	Condition not due to intemperate habits of natural or legal guardians.	Cause of condition not reported.	Condition due to intemperate habits of others, not parents or guardians.	Condition not due to intemperate habits of others, not parents or guardians.	Cause of condition not reported.	Condition due to intemperate habits of applicants, parents, guardians, or others.	Condition not due to intemperate habits of applicants, parents, guardians, or others.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total applicants.
Resident.	Number.	4443	18234	1275	519	17696	5737	118	16993	6841	2139	15404	6409	6328	16386	1238	23952
	Per cent.	18.55	76.13	5.32	2.17	73.88	23.95	0.49	70.95	28.56	8.93	64.31	26.76	26.42	68.41	5.17	80.05
Non-resident.	Number.	1081	4305	585	101	3979	1891	16	2058	3897	73	1887	4011	1171	4234	566	5971
	Per cent.	18.10	72.10	9.80	1.69	66.64	31.67	0.27	34.47	65.26	1.22	31.60	67.18	19.61	70.91	9.47	19.95
Total.	Number.	5524	22539	1860	620	21675	7628	134	19051	10738	2212	17291	10420	7499	20620	1804	29923
	Per cent.	18.46	75.32	6.22	2.07	72.44	25.49	0.45	63.67	35.88	7.39	57.79	34.82	25.06	68.91	6.03	100.

as a careful and somewhat extensive statistical study yields.

We have already shown why the results of other investigations of poverty causes based upon data of charity organization societies in this country are not quite comparable with ours; and others need not be considered here. In foreign countries, the only statistics to be brought into comparison are those presented by Mr. Charles Booth; the German statistics deal chiefly with inmates of institutions, and will be considered in the next chapter. Mr. Booth found that of 4000 cases of poverty in East London, known by certain of the school board visitors, 13 and 14 per cent. were due to drink, the higher percentage being for the greater degree of poverty. In another investigation, comprising 5000 cases of persons living poor and irregular lives, the classes into which they were divided gave 10 and 11 per cent. attributable to drink, dropping to only 5 per cent. for another 3000 who, though poor, were more regularly employed. Mr. Booth did not include the homeless poor and the beggar class in his investigation, neither does it appear that all of the first mentioned 4000 cases were applicants for relief in the sense of being quite destitute at the time of the inquiry. Yet taking the highest percentage (14) of poverty attributed by Mr. Booth to the liquor habit, which represents the lowest class of the community (Classes A and B in his work), there is a discrepany of more than 11 per cent. between that and our general average percentage. Whether the methods of investigation and the probably more detailed inquiry made by us regarding drink as an indirect cause account for it,

or whether an explanation is to be sought in the possible fact that the two sets of statistics treat of different classes of people not readily comparable, cannot be definitely stated. The truth remains that our percentages occupy a middle ground between the extreme views entertained by older writers and the results of some more recent investigations.

CHAPTER III.

THE LIQUOR PROBLEM IN ITS RELATIONS TO PAUPERISM.

1. *By Color.*

WHETHER the Negroes take unkindly to the almshouse, or are not particularly welcomed as inmates, it is a matter of surprise that so few of them are found among the sane paupers of our institutions. Of 1531 persons in the New York city almshouse, but one was a Negro; of 617 in Buffalo, only 2; of 1143 in Cook County, Ill. (Chicago), 18, etc. Even in New Jersey, with its by no means small colored population, relatively few of the race are inmates of almshouses. Baltimore reports a larger number of colored than any other place, yet it is only 61. Of the total number of pauper cases investigated, only 2.47 per cent. are colored; and these are so scattered among the different institutions that in several instances inferences from percentages become absurd. The solitary Negro in the New York almshouse, for instance, being found intemperate, makes the percentage of colored paupers in that institution whose condition is due to the personal use of liquor 100!

Nevertheless, so far as they go, our pauper statistics of colored are of distinct value, for they corroborate at every point the conclusions to be drawn from the tables in chapter ii. In those we learned that rela-

tively more than twice as many white as colored poor owe their condition to the personal use of liquor. Summary I., under the present head, shows nearly the same difference in favor of the colored pauper. Again, relatively half as many colored as white persons become paupers through the intemperate habits of others, which

SUMMARY I.

PAUPERISM IN ALMSHOUSES AS AFFECTED BY THE PERSONAL USE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS, BY COLOR.

	White Paupers.				Colored Paupers.				Aggregate of Paupers.			
	Condition due to personal use of liquor.	Condition not due to personal use of liquor.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total.	Condition due to personal use of liquor.	Condition not due to personal use of liquor.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total.	Condition due to personal use of liquor.	Condition not due to personal use of liquor.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total.
Number.	2716	4999	420	8135	49	208	28	285	2765	5207	448	8420
Per cent.	33.39	61.45	5.16	100.	17.19	72.98	9.83	100.	32.84	61.84	5.32	100.

SUMMARY II.

PAUPERISM IN ALMSHOUSES AS AFFECTED INDIRECTLY BY THE INTEMPERATE HABITS OF OTHERS, BY COLOR.

	White Paupers.				Colored Paupers.				Aggregate of Paupers.			
	Condition due to intemperate habits of others.	Condition not due to intemperate habits of others.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total.	Condition due to intemperate habits of others.	Condition not due to intemperate habits of others.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total.	Condition due to intemperate habits of others.	Condition not due to intemperate habits of others.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total.
Number.	722	4945	2468	8135	13	139	133	285	735	5084	2601	8420
Per cent.	8.87	60.79	30.34	100.	4.56	48.77	46.67	100.	8.73	60.38	30.89	100.

perfectly accords with the corresponding statistics relating to applicants for relief.

What the totals disclose is substantiated by the returns from the single institutions having the largest number of colored. In the Baltimore almshouse, 43.22 per cent. of the whites had become paupers through the personal use of liquor, against 19.67 per cent. of the colored; in the four institutions in North Carolina (tabulated as one almshouse), with a total of 45 colored, the percentages are 29.27 for the white and 20.00 for the colored; in Marion County, Ind., 30.56 4.17, etc. The percentages of persons pauperized through the intemperate habits of others stand in the same relations for the two races. In Baltimore, for instance, the figures for whites are 6.47 per cent. and for colored 3.28 per cent.; in the North Carolina institutions 26.83 per cent. and 2.22 per cent.

2. *By Sex.*

In exceptional instances an almshouse is found to shelter more females than males. Our returns from some almshouses, however, do not indicate the exact numerical proportion of the sexes, since occasionally more women than men were unfit subjects for examination on account of bodily or mental infirmity. But as a rule, the pauper world is peopled by an excess of males. As among applicants for relief, so among paupers, the overwhelming number who have become public charges through the liquor habit are men.

Of the aggregate of paupers, 32.84 per cent. owe their condition to personal intemperance, but in separating the sexes, we find that the males who are

intemperate outnumber proportionately the females by more than two to one, a greater difference with respect to sex than among applicants for relief. Yet it cannot be denied that more difficulty was experienced in obtaining the full history of female paupers. When perceptions have not been dulled by long institutional

SUMMARY III.

PAUPERISM IN ALMSHOUSES AS AFFECTED BY THE PERSONAL USE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS, BY SEX.

	Male Paupers.				Female Paupers.				Aggregate of Paupers.			
	Condition due to personal use of liquor.	Condition not due to personal use of liquor.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total.	Condition due to personal use of liquor.	Condition not due to personal use of liquor.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total.	Condition due to personal use of liquor.	Condition not due to personal use of liquor.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total.
Number.	2236	2762	227	5225	529	2445	221	3195	2765	5207	448	8420
Percent.	42.79	52.86	4.35	100.	16.56	76.53	6.91	100.	32.84	61.84	5.32	100.

SUMMARY IV.

PAUPERISM IN ALMSHOUSES AS AFFECTED INDIRECTLY BY THE INTEMPERATE HABITS OF OTHERS, BY SEX.

	Male Paupers.				Female Paupers.				Aggregate of Paupers.			
	Condition due to intemperate habits of others.	Condition not due to intemperate habits of others.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total.	Condition due to intemperate habits of others.	Condition not due to intemperate habits of others.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total.	Condition due to intemperate habits of others.	Condition not due to intemperate habits of others.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total.
Number.	327	3189	1709	5225	408	1895	892	3195	735	5084	2601	8420
Per cent.	6.26	61.03	32.71	100.	12.77	59.31	27.92	100.	8.73	60.38	30.89	100.

life, the feeling so common in the outer world that it is particularly disgraceful for women to confess to the liquor habit lends color to some personal statements. It is probable, therefore, that more women have become paupers through the drink habit than is indicated by our figures.

Relatively twice as many females as males have become pauperized through the intemperate habits of others, according to Summary IV. The difference between the sexes in this respect is much smaller than the difference exhibited in the corresponding summary for applicants for relief, and for ample reasons. The proportion of spinsters is invariably greater in almshouses than in ordinary groups of charity cases, though we are inclined to hold that it is not quite what Summary VII. would have us believe, of which further mention will be made. Single women, of course, rarely owe their pauperism indirectly to the liquor habit. On the other hand, it is commoner to find male paupers than male applicants for charity, whose lives have been ruined by drunken wives and children, or to whom intemperate relatives refuse support in old age. The peculiarities of the percentages in the corresponding Appendix Table IV. must be ascribed to the circumstance that the indirect effects of the liquor habit were not traced with equal care in all institutions.

3. *By Age Periods.*

Judging from the histories of paupers as recorded on our schedules, we feel justified in saying, in the light of Summary V., that few persons are admitted to almshouses before the age of 30, except through

some accident, physical imperfection, or acute ailment. From the thirtieth year men and women finding themselves worsted in the struggle for independent existence, or having succumbed to vices that drained their strength, are ready to knock at the door of the last refuge, — the poorhouse. They come in ever larger numbers until the end of the age period 60–69. Then there is an abrupt decline, and the number who reach the almshouse after the age of 80 is not much larger than of those who are admitted before the fifteenth year. More than 50 per cent. of all the paupers become such before the sixtieth year. While the

SUMMARY V.

AGE OF PAUPERS IN ALMSHOUSES AT ADMISSION TO INSTITUTION, BY AGE PERIODS.

Age Periods.													
Under 1 year.		1–4.		5–9.		10–14.		15–19.		20–29.		30–39.	
Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.
56	0.67	34	0.40	37	0.44	40	0.48	173	2.06	657	7.80	864	10.26

Age Periods.												Total.
40–49		50–59		60–69		70–79		80 years and over.		Age not reported.		
Number	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	
1215	14.43	1739	20.65	2080	24.70	1093	12.98	238	2.83	194	2.30	8420

SUMMARY VI.

PRESENT AGE OF PAUPERS IN ALMSHOUSES, BY AGE PERIODS.

Age Periods.													
Under 1 year.		1–4.		5–9.		10–14.		15–19.		20–29.		30–39.	
Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.
39	0.46	41	0.49	15	0.18	25	0.30	100	1.19	511	6.07	751	8.92

Age Periods.												Total.
40–49		50–59		60–69		70–79		80 years and over.		Age not reported.		
Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	
1088	12.92	1595	18.94	2203	26.16	1466	17.41	452	5.37	134	1.59	8420

largest number within any single period is in the age period 60–69, relatively more who were paying the penalty of their liquor habit belonged to the age periods 40–59 at the time of admission.

Summary VI. is supplementary to the next preceding, and shows the ages of paupers at the time of the investigation. Here the percentages under the last three age periods are, of course, larger, for while few become paupers after reaching the eightieth year, many who are such attain even greater age in the almshouse. That those admitted before the twentieth year outnumber those found to be under this age during the

investigation is probably owing to the fact that dependent children are now more generally provided for outside almshouses. The 1.59 per cent. whose age was not reported represents quite accurately the percentage of paupers who are in ignorance of their years.

4. *By Occupations.*

A close affinity between the drink habit and certain occupations has long been recognized. It is quite common to hear charity-workers comment on the prevalence of drunkenness among printers, male cooks and waiters, painters, and teamsters, for example. In the case of the last mentioned there is perhaps nothing in the occupation itself that engenders a craving for stimulants, but it affords unusual opportunities for indulgence during hours of work; this is likewise true of cooks and waiters. On the other hand, the reason why printers, painters, iron and steel workers, and others should hanker so much after alcoholic beverages is probably patent to all familiar in some degree with the conditions under which they work, or the direct effect of their occupations on the human organism. Some trades in which the actual need of stimulants is most apparent, for instance the potter's and hatter's, are not represented in our tables. Quite recently public attention has been drawn to the pitiable plight of the workers in the Staffordshire potteries in England, to whom alcohol as an antidote to the poisons which so quickly destroy vitality and torture the body seems almost a necessity, or at least a help to gain for the moment forgetfulness of their sufferings.

The relations of occupations to the liquor habit as shown in our summaries are, on the whole, in conformity with the experience of observers and students. Our classification of occupations has necessarily been made somewhat broad, in order not to extend the list too far. Thus, under the head of carpenters are included wood workers of all kinds, among leather workers are numbered shoemakers, a few tanners, etc. Taking the ten occupations showing the heaviest percentages of drinkers, we get the following order: (1) saloon-keepers, including bar-tenders, 84.62 per cent.; (2) sailors, 58.12 per cent.; (3) butchers, 57.41 per cent.; (4) printers, 55.88 per cent; (5) iron and steel workers, 55.56 per cent.; (6) teamsters, 53.20 per cent.; (7) cooks and waiters, 50.85 per cent.; (8) machinists, 50.82 per cent.; (9) masons, 47.12 per cent.; (10) painters, 46.12 per cent.

Exclusive of the saloon-keepers, the difference in percentages is not so marked as the unequal representation of the occupations would lead one to expect. Nevertheless, we confess to being unable to advance a satisfactory reason for such a percentage as that attributed to the butchers. On the other hand, the general trustworthiness of the table is fully supported by the figures for the occupations showing the least intemperance. At the bottom of the list, and only a step above the professional class, stand railroad employees, with 31.25 per cent., a class whose tenure of position as well as ability to get employment depends upon their sobriety. Just above the railroad men come the farmers, with 33.20 per cent.; and it is a matter of common knowledge that while farmers are

SUMMARY VII *a*. *Pauperism in Almshouses as affected by the Personal Use of Intoxicating Liquors, by Occupations (Males).*

OCCUPATIONS PREVIOUS TO ADMISSION TO INSTITUTIONS.	Condition due to personal use of liquor.		Condition not due to personal use of liquor.		Cause of condition not reported.		Total.	
	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.
Bakers.	21	34.43	39	63.93	1	1.64	61	1.17
Barbers.	11	44.00	14	56.00	–	–	25	0.48
Blacksmiths.	61	44.85	74	54.41	1	0.74	136	2.60
Butchers.	31	57.41	22	40.74	1	1.85	54	1.03
Carpenters.	100	42.02	135	56.72	3	1.26	238	4.56
Cigar makers.	9	42.86	12	57.14	–	–	21	0.40
Clerks.	46	42.59	60	55.56	2	1.85	108	2.07
Clothing makers.	48	40.68	67	56.78	3	2.54	118	2.24
Cooks and waiters.	30	50.85	28	47.46	1	1.69	59	1.13
Engineers and Firemen.	24	44.44	30	55.56	–	–	54	1.03
Farmers.	84	33.20	163	64.43	6	2.37	253	4.84
Iron and Steel workers.	65	55.56	49	41.88	3	2.56	117	2.24
Laborers.	1076	44.68	1242	51.58	90	3.74	2408	46.09
Leather workers.	77	44.00	96	54.86	2	1.14	175	3.35
Machinists.	31	50.82	30	49.18	–	–	61	1.17
Masons.	49	47.12	55	52.88	–	–	104	1.99
Merchants.	21	45.65	25	54.35	–	–	46	0.88
Mill operatives.	65	43.33	82	54.67	3	2.00	150	2.87
Painters.	61	46.21	69	52.27	2	1.52	132	2.53
Pedlers.	19	37.26	31	60.78	1	1.96	51	0.98
Printers.	19	55.88	15	44.12	–	–	34	0.65
Professional.	12	29.27	28	68.29	1	2.44	41	0.78
Railroad employees.	10	31.25	22	68.75	–	–	32	0.61
Sailors.	68	58.12	46	39.32	3	2.56	117	2.24
Saloon keepers.	33	84.62	6	15.38	–	–	39	0.75
Teamsters.	83	53.20	68	43.59	5	3.21	156	2.99
Unclassified.[1]	67	27.02	106	42.74	75	30.24	248	4.75
No occupation.	15	8.02	148	79.15	24	12.83	187	3.58
Total.	2236	42.79	2762	52.86	227	4.35	5225	100.

[1] Includes 186 from Marion County, Ind., for which institution the occupations were not reported.

often given to over-indulgence in liquor, comparatively few are habitual drunkards. It is interesting to note that 46.09 per cent. of all the male paupers are unskilled laborers, with about 8 per cent. not classified or without occupations.

The disparity of the totals of females engaged in the different occupations is sufficient to impair somewhat the value of the percentages of drink. That the clerks show relatively the greatest degree of intemperance must be regarded as merely accidental, and unrelated to their occupation. Four of the six clerks had led immoral lives, though they could not be classed as

SUMMARY VII*b*.

PAUPERISM IN ALMSHOUSES AS AFFECTED BY THE PERSONAL USE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS, BY OCCUPATIONS (FEMALES).

Occupations previous to admission to institutions.	Condition due to personal use of liquor.		Condition not due to personal use of liquor.		Cause of condition not reported.		Total.	
	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.
Clerks.	6	37.50	10	62.50	–	–	16	0.50
Cooks.	19	36.54	33	63.46	–	–	52	1.63
Domestics.	354	19.68	1339	74.43	106	5.89	1799	56.31
Housewives.	67	9.44	600	84.51	43	6.05	710	22.22
Laundresses.	6	30.00	14	70.00	–	–	20	0.62
Mill operatives.	28	24.78	80	70.80	5	4.42	113	3.54
Professional.	1	7.69	12	92.31	–	–	13	0.41
Seamstresses.	14	12.61	94	84.69	3	2.70	111	3.47
Unclassified.[1]	24	16.55	88	60.69	33	22.76	145	4.54
No occupation.	10	4.63	175	81.02	31	14.35	216	6.76
Total.	529	16.56	2445	76.53	221	6.91	3195	100.

[1] Includes 54 from Marion County, Ind., for which institution the occupations were not reported.

common prostitutes. No evidence of this kind was presented regarding the cooks. The markedly disproportionate relation of domestics and housewives to the liquor habit is not startling. Again, we find not a few women reported to be unchaste among the domestics. Moreover, the question here is merely of personal intemperance. A large percentage of the housewives owe their condition to drink, but not directly, and on this point the present table is silent. The number of women classed as housewives is probably lower than it should be. It was the purpose to have all but spinsters classed as housewives, whether or not the latter for any reason had been employed as domestics after marriage. Some confusion on this point was visible in the schedules.

That mill operatives should appear less temperate than domestics conforms to experience. In general, the very nature of the female occupations given precludes the possibility of showing definitely their relation to the drink habit; it would at least require a much more exhaustive study than ours to arrive at final conclusions.

5. *By Nativity of Paupers and Parent Nativity.*

Like the applicants for charity, the paupers who fill our institutions are gathered from many climes and nationalities. From every European country, from South America, Africa, Asia, and Australia, they have come only to spend their last years as charges upon the bounty of people whose speech some of them do not even understand. Less than one fourth of the 8420 paupers are American born. The percentage of

those of unknown parentage, both as to father and mother, is somewhat larger than among applicants for relief, and it is fair to assume that, could the facts be learned, we should probably find that less than a fifth of all paupers are of American origin.

Again we attain the fairest view of the question of nationality as related to drink when the personal use of liquor is considered. From Summary VIII. we learn that 29.31 per cent. of native-born paupers have become dependent through drink, but from Summary IX. that the same cause has been operative in but 26.30 per cent. of paupers of full native parentage. This is an almost exact reproduction of the conditions we found to exist among applicants for relief, with the difference that in the present case all percentages of drink run higher. So, too, when we rank all nationalities according to the extent to which personal intemperance occurs as the cause of pauperism, we get almost an exact duplicate of the order in which we found the nationalities of applicants for relief; namely, the following: (1) Irish, 40.76 per cent.; (2) Scotch, 39.19 per cent.; (3) English, 39.12 per cent.; (4) Canadian, 32.67 per cent.; (5) Scandinavian, 27.62 per cent.; (6) American, 26.30 per cent.; (7) German, 25.00 per cent.; (8) Austrian, 13.95 per cent.; (9) Polish, 12.96 per cent.; (10) Italian, 9.09 per cent. If we consider as American all native born, regardless of the fact that perhaps half of them are of foreign extraction, the American nationality advances one place in our list and ranks above the Scandinavian, precisely as in the table for applicants for relief. Indeed, were it not that the English and Canadians have

exchanged places as have likewise the Austrians and Poles, the rank of the nationalities would be identical. The Canadians would probably be found in the same place as in chapter ii., except for the circumstance that of the Canadian-born paupers an unusual proportion were females, a fact reflected in the percentage in division 4 of Summary VIII. The total number of Polish paupers is so small as to make inferences less trustworthy. It should be observed, however, that the difference between the percentages attributed to the nationalities is much smaller than in Summary V., chapter ii.

How closely the statistics relative to applicants for relief and paupers in respect to nationality correspond is further apparent when we consider pauperism as induced by the intemperate habits of parents of paupers. Here also the native born show a percentage second only to that of the Scotch. But the latter is accidental, for of the 7 persons of Scotch birth in question, 4 were children of the same parents. Eliminating the native born of foreign parentage, the percentage of native born of native parentage who have become paupers through the parental liquor habit drops from 5.14 to 3.91 per cent. As with applicants for relief, it was only possible to learn the effects of parental intemperance in the case of pauper children. The whole number of paupers under 20 years of age being but 220, or less than 3 per cent. of the total number, our percentages for most countries become of uncertain value.

In the fourth division of Summary VIII., "Condition due to the intemperate habits of others," the Canadian

SUMMARY VIII. *Pauperism in Almshouses as affected by the Use of Intoxicating Liquors, by Nativity of Paupers.*

NATIVITY OF PAUPERS.		Condition due to personal use of liquor.	Condition not due to personal use of liquor.	Cause of condition not reported.	Condition due to intemperate habits of one or both parents.	Condition not due to intemperate habits of one or both parents.	Cause of condition not reported.	Condition due to intemperate habits of natural or legal guardians.	Condition not due to intemperate habits of natural or legal guardians.	Cause of condition not reported.	Condition due to intemperate habits of others, not parents or guardians.	Condition not due to intemperate habits of others, not parents or guardians.	Cause of condition not reported.	Condition due to intemperate habits of pauper, parents, guardians, or others.	Condition not due to intemperate habits of pauper, parents, guardians, or others.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total paupers.
Native born.	Number.	890	1949	197	156	1863	1017	12	1953	1071	134	1966	936	1061	1781	194	3036
	Per cent.	29.31	64.20	6.49	5.14	61.36	33.50	0.39	64.33	35.28	4.41	64.76	30.83	34.95	58.66	6.39	36.06
Foreign born.																	
England.	Number.	169	250	13	8	288	136	–	294	138	17	294	121	176	243	13	432
	Per cent.	39.12	57.87	3.01	1.85	66.67	31.48	–	68.06	31.94	3.93	68.06	28.01	40.75	56.25	3.00	5.13
Scotland.	Number.	29	44	1	7	59	8	–	62	12	7	55	12	33	40	1	74
	Per cent.	39.19	59.46	1.35	9.46	79.73	10.81	–	83.78	16.22	9.46	74.32	16.22	44.60	54.05	1.35	0.88
Ireland.	Number.	1204	1635	115	108	2047	799	9	2176	769	195	2099	660	1316	1525	113	2954
	Per cent.	40.76	55.35	3.89	3.66	69.29	27.05	0.31	73.66	26.03	6.60	71.06	22.34	44.55	51.63	3.82	35.08
Canada.	Number.	49	94	7	4	107	39	–	110	40	18	105	27	62	82	6	150
	Per cent.	32.67	62.67	4.66	2.67	71.33	26.00	–	73.33	26.67	12.00	70.00	18.00	41.33	54.67	4.00	1.78

Germany.	Number.	295	828	57	14	774	392	1	782	397	56	803	321	329	794	57	1180
	Per cent.	25.00	70.17	4.83	1.19	65.59	33.22	0.09	66.26	33.65	4.75	68.05	27.20	27.88	67.29	4.83	14.01
Sweden and Norway.																	
	Number.	50	123	8	4	143	34	1	141	39	11	134	36	56	118	7	181
	Per cent.	27.62	67.96	4.42	2.21	79.01	18.78	0.55	77.90	21.55	6.08	74.03	19.89	30.94	65.19	3.87	2.15
Italy.	Number.	2	12	8	–	13	9	–	12	10	–	12	10	2	12	8	22
	Per cent.	9.09	54.55	36.36	–	59.09	40.91	–	54.55	45.45	–	54.55	45.45	9.09	54.55	36.36	0.26
Poland.	Number.	7	37	10	1	35	18	–	35	19	–	34	20	7	37	10	54
	Per cent.	12.96	68.52	18.52	1.85	64.82	33.33	–	64.81	35.19	–	62.97	37.03	12.96	68.52	18.52	0.64
Austria.	Number.	12	70	4	–	61	25	–	58	28	1	61	24	13	69	4	86
	Per cent.	13.95	81.40	4.65	–	70.93	29.07	–	67.44	32.56	1.16	70.93	27.91	15.12	80.23	4.65	1.02
All other countries.																	
	Number.	56	155	16	1	143	83	–	143	84	8	146	73	63	149	15	227
	Per cent.	24.67	68.28	7.05	0.44	63.00	36.56	–	63.00	37.00	3.52	64.32	32.16	27.75	65.64	6.61	2.70
Unknown.	Number.	2	10	12	–	3	21	–	3	21	–	3	21	2	10	12	24
	Per cent.	8.33	41.67	50.00	–	12.50	87.50	–	12.50	87.50	–	12.50	87.50	8.33	41.67	50.00	0.29
Total.	Number.	2765	5207	448	303	5536	2581	23	5769	2628	447	5712	2261	3120	4860	440	8420
	Per cent.	32.84	61.84	5.32	3.60	65.75	30.65	0.27	68.52	31.21	5.31	67.84	26.85	37.05	57.72	5.23	100.

SUMMARY IX. *Pauperism in Almshouses as affected by the Use of Intoxicating Liquors, by Parent Nativity.*

PARENT NATIVITY.	Condition due to personal use of liquor.	Condition not due to personal use of liquor.	Cause of condition not reported.	Condition due to intemperate habits of one or both parents.	Condition not due to intemperate habits of one or both parents.	Cause of condition not reported.	Condition due to intemperate habits of natural or legal guardians.	Condition not due to intemperate habits of natural or legal guardians.	Cause of condition not reported.	Condition due to intemperate habits of others, not parents or guardians.	Condition not due to intemperate habits of others, not parents or guardians.	Cause of condition not reported.	Condition due to intemperate habits of pauper, parents, guardians, or others.	Condition not due to intemperate habits of pauper, parents, guardians, or others.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total.
Both parents native.																
Number.	471	1219	101	70	1165	556	5	1199	587	73	1207	511	556	1134	101	1791
Per cent.	26.30	68.06	5.64	3.91	65.05	31.04	0.28	66.95	32.77	4.08	67.39	28.53	31.04	63.32	5.64	21.27
Both parents foreign.																
Number.	2174	3662	315	198	4157	1796	17	4333	1801	358	4264	1529	2412	3432	307	6151
Per cent.	35.34	59.54	5.12	3.22	67.58	29.20	0.28	70.44	29.28	5.82	69.32	24.86	39.21	55.80	4.99	73.05
Both parents unknown.																
Number.	50	182	32	5	70	189	–	75	189	3	81	180	56	176	32	264
Per cent.	18.94	68.94	12.12	1.89	26.52	71.59	–	28.41	71.59	1.14	30.68	68.18	21.21	66.67	12.12	3.14
Father native, mother foreign.																
Number.	24	53	–	11	52	14	–	59	18	3	60	14	31	46	–	77
Per cent.	31.17	68.83	–	14.29	67.53	18.18	–	76.62	23.38	3.90	77.92	18.18	40.26	59.74	–	0.91

Father foreign, mother native.	Number.	32	46	–	10	52	16	1	58	19	5	57	16	40	38	–	78
	Per cent.	41.03	58.97	–	12.82	66.67	20.51	1.28	74.36	24.36	6.41	73.08	20.51	51.28	48.72	–	0.93
Father native, mother unknown.	Number.	5	13	–	2	12	4	–	13	5	–	14	4	6	12	–	18
	Per cent.	27.78	72.22	–	11.11	66.67	22.22	–	72.22	27.78	–	77.78	22.22	33.33	66.67	–	0.21
Father foreign, mother unknown.	Number.	2	7	–	2	7	–	–	8	1	–	8	1	4	5	–	9
	Per cent.	22.22	77.78	–	22.22	77.78	–	–	88.89	11.11	–	88.89	11.11	44.44	55.56	–	0.11
Father unknown, mother native.	Number.	3	18	–	5	11	5	–	14	7	4	11	6	10	11	–	21
	Per cent.	14.29	85.71	–	23.81	52.38	23.81	–	66.67	33.33	19.05	52.38	28.57	47.62	52.38	–	0.25
Father unknown, mother foreign.	Number.	4	7	–	–	10	1	–	10	1	1	10	–	5	6	–	11
	Per cent.	36.36	63.64	–	–	90.91	9.09	–	90.91	9.09	9.09	90.91	–	45.45	54.55	–	0.13
Total.	Number.	2765	5207	448	303	5536	2581	23	5769	2628	447	5712	2261	3120	4860	440	8420
	Per cent.	32.84	61.84	5.32	3.60	65.75	30.65	0.27	68.52	31.21	5.31	67.84	26.85	37.05	57.72	5.23	100.

pauper, like his fellow countryman applying for relief, holds first place, followed by the Scotch, Irish, Scandinavian, German, and American, in the order named, an order slightly differing from the one observed in the preceding chapter. The test of nationality, as we have already pointed out, is not so reliable under this head, since the origin of the person whose intemperance is at fault does not appear. We have found also among paupers a much larger percentage of males whose condition is chargeable to the intemperance of others than among applicants for charity. Here, then, it does not so generally appear to be the conjugal relations which are affected by the liquor habit. Of the histories of paupers beyond what the tabulated statistics tell us, we know very little. For reasons advanced above, Summary IX. shows but a slight difference between the percentages of paupers of native parentage who have become destitute through the intemperate habits of others and the corresponding percentage of native-born paupers. But as among applicants for private charity, so the paupers of foreign extraction yield a larger percentage of persons whose condition is due to the intemperate habits of others than paupers of native parentage; and this is a point of great interest.

In the last division of Summary VIII., which sums up intemperance as a direct and indirect cause of want, the important changes in the order of nationalities are easily understood in the light of the explanations already given. Thus, the fact that the Scotch take first rank, superseding the Irish, is, of course, due to the unusual percentage attributed to the Scotch in the

column "Condition due to the intemperate habits of one or both parents."

What we said about the groups of applicants for private charity of mixed or partly unknown parentage applies generally to the corresponding groups of paupers in Summary IX. It is striking that, as in the preceding chapter, the largest percentage of intemperance is found in the group "Father foreign, mother native."

6. *By Political Condition.*

The features developed in our statistics showing the relation of paupers to drink by political condition coincide so fully with the corresponding facts concerning applicants for relief that to analyze them is practically to repeat statements made in the previous chapter. Again we find the percentage of persons whose condition is due to personal intemperance much smaller among the citizen born and aliens than among the naturalized, which is in harmony with the two preceding summaries. That naturalized paupers appear nearly twice as intemperate as the alien is explained by the fact that the representatives of the hardest-drinking nationalities, Irish, Scotch, Canadians, etc., are the first to acquire citizenship; the larger part of the aliens come from more temperate nationalities, which are slower in naturalizing. A majority of those whose political condition is unknown belong to English-speaking races. Exact data with regard to the latter would probably result in increasing to a perceptible degree the percentage of intemperance falling to the share of naturalized paupers.

Among applicants for relief, the largest percentage of persons whose condition is due to the intemperate habits of others was attributed to the aliens. This is not true of paupers, for here those whose political condition is unknown come conspicuously to the fore. This is natural, since females contribute the greatest number to the percentage in question, and it was frequently impossible to discover the political condition of female paupers. They could often give little information themselves, and there was no other opportunity for ascertaining the facts.

Our efforts to secure information about the liquor habits of the parents of paupers, in the hope that it might be possible to trace the hereditary effects of intemperance, resulted in statistics too fragmentary to be of value. Although willing to tell their own histories, paupers were often reticent about their parents, and especially averse to saying anything derogatory about their mothers. In very many cases they had forgotten or never knew the facts wanted. We were impressed, however, by the number of intemperate paupers who declared that the father had been an habitual drinker.

We have found the general average percentage of pauperism due directly or indirectly to drink to be 37.05 per cent., with 5.23 per cent. of the total number of cases unaccounted for. We say of this average, as of the corresponding one in the previous chapter, that it simply stands for such approximate expression of the truth as a careful and somewhat extensive statistical study yields.

The averages obtained for single institutions (Appendix Table XI., Pauperism) show, on the whole, unim-

SUMMARY X. *Pauperism in Almshouses as affected by the Use of Intoxicating Liquors, by Political Condition.*

POLITICAL CONDITION.		Condition due to personal use of liquor.	Condition not due to personal use of liquor.	Cause of condition not reported.	Condition due to intemperate habits of one or both parents.	Condition not due to intemperate habits of one or both parents.	Cause of condition not reported.	Condition due to intemperate habits of natural or legal guardians.	Condition not due to intemperate habits of natural or legal guardians.	Cause of condition not reported.	Condition due to intemperate habits of others, not parents or guardians.	Condition not due to intemperate habits of others, not parents or guardians.	Cause of condition not reported.	Condition due to intemperate habits of pauper, parents, guardians, or others.	Condition not due to intemperate habits of pauper, parents, guardians, or others.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total paupers.
Citizen born.	Number.	890	1949	197	156	1863	1017	12	1953	1071	134	1966	936	1061	1781	194	3036
	Per cent.	29.31	64.20	6.49	5.14	61.36	33.50	0.39	64.33	35.28	4.41	64.76	30.83	34.95	58.66	6.39	36.06
Naturalized.	Number.	1330	1654	83	97	2170	800	6	2240	821	149	2202	716	1409	1579	79	3067
	Per cent.	43.36	53.93	2.71	3.16	70.75	26.09	0.20	73.03	26.77	4.86	71.80	23.34	45.94	51.48	2.58	36.43
Alien.	Number.	309	943	77	37	856	436	3	877	449	73	877	379	354	899	76	1329
	Per cent.	23.25	70.96	5.79	2.78	64.41	32.81	0.23	65.99	33.78	5.49	65.99	28.52	26.64	67.64	5.72	15.78
Unknown.	Number.	236	661	91	13	647	328	2	699	287	91	667	230	296	601	91	988
	Per cent.	23.89	66.90	9.21	1.31	65.49	33.20	0.20	70.75	29.05	9.21	67.51	23.28	29.96	60.83	9.21	11.73
Total.	Number.	2765	5207	448	303	5536	2581	23	5769	2628	447	5712	2261	3120	4860	440	8420
	Per cent.	32.84	61.84	5.32	3.60	65.75	30.65	0.27	68.52	31.21	5.31	67.84	26.85	37.05	57.72	5.23	100.

portant divergences from the general average. For the most part they must be ascribed to the diversity of local conditions, for it must be remembered that our statistics embrace returns from rural almshouses and small and large city institutions in no less than a dozen States.

The comparatively low percentage of intemperance given for the Cook County, Ill., almshouse, can probably be ascribed to the fact that many inmates of the hospital connected with that institution were included. By no means all of the patients are true paupers, but go to work again when they have recovered sufficiently under the free treatment.

That the cause of the condition of more than 38 per cent. of the inmates of the Marion County, Ind., institution is not reported accounts for the unexpectedly low percentage of intemperance among its paupers.

The almshouses in Morris County, N. J., as well as the infirmaries of Jackson and Union counties, Ohio, are strictly rural affairs, hence, as a matter of course, do not house so many drunkards.

The Allegheny City Home is in a sense an asylum for the worthy aged and infirm, but we confess that the amount of intemperance is smaller than we believe a more searching inquiry might disclose.

In a number of almshouses the aggregate is so small that the value of the averages of intemperance may fairly be questioned.

About three years ago the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics undertook an investigation of the relations of pauperism to drink on practically the same lines as ours. The results of the inquiry, which was

limited to pauper institutions in Massachusetts, form a part of the 26th Annual Report of the Bureau. Pauperism is shown to have been caused (1) by the personal use of liquor in 39.44 per cent. of the 3230 cases as against our 32.84 per cent.; (2) by the intemperate habits of parents in 4.82 per cent. against our 3.60 per cent.; (3) by the intemperate habits of guardians in 1.45 per cent. against our 0.27 per cent.; and (4) by the intemperate habits of others not parents or guardians in 3.06 per cent. against our 5.31 per cent. It would have been surprising to discover a greater correspondence between these two sets of figures, for the one represents the returns from a single State, the other, twice the number of paupers in institutions scattered over twelve States and, therefore, embracing a greater variety of local conditions.

The Massachusetts report presents no general average percentage of pauperism due directly and indirectly to drink; neither is it possible to draw one from the data at hand, since no aggregate is given from which have been eliminated persons pauperized in more than one way through drink. No other extended investigation of this kind has been made in the United States.

Mr. Charles Booth found 12.6 per cent. of 634 inmates of the workhouse at Stepney, London, to have been pauperized by drink, and 21.9 per cent. of 736 cases at the St. Pancras workhouse. Mr. Booth says that the proportion of intemperance found at Stepney "is less than might have been expected, and it is probable that closer research into the circumstances and history of these people, if it could be made, might disclose a greater connection than here appears between

pauperism and the public house" (Pauperism, p. 11). Whether, if the same methods of investigation had been employed, the discrepancy between Mr. Booth's figures and ours would not in large part disappear is perhaps an open question.

Still smaller than the English are the German figures. The investigation made by the German Imperial Statistical Bureau in 1885 stated that only in 2.1 per cent. of 1,367,347 cases was pauperism caused by drink. Dr. Böhmert in his study of 77 German cities found only 1.3 per cent. The pauper statistics from Magdeburg, of 1895, deal with 4 cases of intemperance among 2260 permanent paupers. Among the poor and paupers of Stuttgart, Dr. H. Rettich (1898) finds 0.09 per cent. of 2164 males to have become dependent through drink, and among 1505 females not a single one. The Austrian statistics are on a line with the German. Thus in Steiermark (1894) the average percentage of intemperance as a cause of pauperism for 3139 persons is 1.99. In the Mittelland, however, it rises to 3.07.

In remarkable contrast to these figures is the statement that among 44.539 inmates of the German *Arbeiterkolonien* (1882-1891), it could be said of only 23 per cent. that their condition had no relation to the use of alcoholics.

The drink statistics of the German Imperial Statistical Bureau have never been accepted as authoritative. On the contrary, especially so far as details are concerned, its results have been characterized as worthless. It is certainly unexpected to find only 0.3 per cent. of drink in the city of Berlin, but 3.9 per cent.

in the province of Hanover and 8.37 per cent. in the district Bautzen. And it seems no more credible that the rest of the German statistics have properly determined the relations of pauperism to drink. Unlike ours, the German statistics are based on official records and not upon original investigations. We know also that there is unwonted strictness in the German method of granting relief, and a disinclination to help those who because of drunkenness deserve punishment. Unless compelled to do so, the German applicant for relief and pauper are generally prone to ascribe their condition to other causes than drink. A fair comparison of the German and American statistics thus becomes impossible.

We may fittingly close this chapter with the words of Mr. Booth, than whom no one speaks with greater authority : —

"Of drink in all its combinations, adding to every trouble, undermining every effort after good, destroying the homes, and cursing the young lives of the children, the stories tell enough. It does not stand as apparent chief cause in as many cases as sickness and old age ; but if it were not for the drink, sickness and old age could be better met. Drink must therefore be accounted the most prolific of all causes ; and it is the least necessary." (Pauperism, pp. 140, 141.)

CHAPTER IV.

THE LIQUOR PROBLEM IN ITS RELATIONS TO THE DESTITUTION AND NEGLECT OF CHILDREN.

THE applicants for charity, paupers, and criminals, whom our statistics show to have become burdens upon the community directly or indirectly through drink, form together an army more than 17,000 strong. How many of these have brought other beings into the world to share in large part their misery and to suffer under it, we know not. Making every allowance demanded by the schedules, it may safely be held that a majority of this multitude at some time have been or are fathers and mothers. And though ignorant of the number of their progeny, we are very far from drawing on our imagination in saying that for each family represented among the 17,000, at least two children, offsprings of that family, have felt the curse of the liquor habit at some time in their lives.

What need, then, it may be asked, of searching deeper into the relation of drink to the destitution and neglect of children, since it appears to be in some ratio to the dependants who have become such through intemperance? In the first place, we do not know the proportion of children having drunken paupers or criminals for parents who become dependent from this cause. By no means all become thus dependent; this

much we know, for in not a few instances such children are able to shift for themselves before their parents become public charges. Moreover, some intemperate parents, who are not applicants for aid or paupers or criminals, neglect or abuse their children in such manner that charity must extend her hand to the innocent ones.

A special investigation showing how much of the neglect of children, both moral and physical, is due to the drink habits of their parents or others is therefore, as we intimated in the Introduction, strictly legitimate. We obtained our data from what may be considered three fairly distinct sources: (1) Societies for the prevention of cruelty to children or humane societies, which deal chiefly with children of the lowest and least responsible classes; (2) state organizations of the National Children's Home Society, under whose treatment come a large number of illegitimate infants; (3) two state public schools, which are in fact state asylums for orphaned and dependent children of all classes.

For reasons given elsewhere, the inquiry had to be limited to a smaller number of families than anticipated. Yet it is sufficiently representative of various conditions of child-life to permit some conclusions. We do not believe that a more extended research would have led to materially different results.

Children, not families, were considered as units in the investigation. Children of the same parents being tabulated separately, their total number exceeds that of the families.

1. *By Color.*

The small percentage of colored children (1.99 per cent.) is not evidence of a relatively better treatment accorded their own flesh and blood by Negro parents, for the Negroes as a race are in some respects peculiary callous to the sufferings of their children. Aside

SUMMARY I.

DESTITUTION AND NEGLECT OF CHILDREN AS AFFECTED BY THE USE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS, BY COLOR.

		Condition due to intemperate habits of one or both parents.			Condition due to intemperate habits of natural or legal guardians.			Condition due to intemperate habits of others not parents or guardians.			Condition due to intemperate habits of parents, guardians, or others.			Total.
		Yes.	No.	Not reported.	Yes.	No.	Not reported.	Yes.	No.	Not reported.	Yes.	No.	Not reported.	
White.	Number.	2267	2376	391	63	4590	372	43	4590	392	2314	2335	385	5034
	Per cent.	45.03	47.20	7.77	1.25	91.36	7.39	0.85	91.36	7.79	45.97	46.38	7.65	98.01
Colored.	Number.	40	48	14	2	90	10	–	92	10	40	53	9	102
	Per cent.	39.22	47.06	13.72	1.96	88.24	9.80	–	90.20	9.80	39.22	51.96	8.82	1.99
Total.	Number.	2307	2424	405	65	4689	382	43	4691	402	2354	2388	394	5136
	Per cent.	44.92	47.20	7.88	1.26	91.30	7.44	0.84	91.33	7.83	45.83	46.50	7.67	100.00

from causes leading to less interference with the family relations of colored people by agencies under the control of whites, which in part explain why so few pickaninnies are accounted for, it must be remembered that our returns are from Northern communities. The percentages in the first summary, however, probably indicate the true relations of the races in the respect under consideration. In a larger number of dependent colored children, especially if Southern cities were thoroughly represented, we should probably find that even to a greater extent the advantage lies with the Negro. As it is, but 39.22 per cent. of the colored children owe their plight to the intemperate habits of their

parents or others as against 45.97 per cent. of the white. This is in line with the statistics of applicants for relief and of paupers.

2. *By Nativity of Children and Parent Nativity.*

Only 2.20 per cent. of the 5136 children were born outside the United States, with 9.48 per cent. whose nativity is unknown. In the statistics from the different societies and institutions, as well as in Summary II., we find relatively fewer American than foreign born children whose destitution or neglect is caused by the intemperate habits of those having parental responsibility for them. The general percentages are 43.59 for the native born and 49.56 for the foreign born. That the figures would be still more favorable to the native born if we could do away with the percentage of unknown place of birth is evinced by Summary III. Among the children of full native parentage, 37.40 per cent. have become dependent through drink, as against 49.11 per cent. among those of full foreign parentage. Yet we have 35.82 per cent. the nativity of whose parents is unknown; and we feel safe in estimating much over one half of this last percentage to be of foreign parentage.

The Irish contribute as a rule the largest proportion of parents of foreign birth whose children are cared for by the societies for the prevention of cruelty and humane societies, and the Hebrews the next largest. The latter offend in most cases by sending young children to peddle on the streets, occasionally through abuse, but very rarely on account of intemperance. We have no information about the nationalities prin-

cipally dealt with by other child-saving agencies. Drunken parents more frequently desert their children than abuse them to the extent of becoming amenable to the law. It is estimated that in this country about 16,000 children annually are deserted by their parents.

As the general percentage of the destitution and neglect of children due to the liquor habits of their parents, we get 44.92, which, when the intemperance of guardians and others is added, increases to 45.83 per cent. There is no startling divergence from the last percentage to account for (see Appendix table). As might be expected, the figures returned by the first group of societies, which deals with children from the most depraved classes, are with one exception higher than the average, reaching 64.28 per cent. in the instance of the Yonkers Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. In the second group, including three branch organizations of the National Children's Home Society and one of the Indiana Boards of Children's Guardians, we note a wider discrepancy, but one entirely conditioned by the classes of society from which the children are taken. The third group, embracing the two state public schools of Minnesota and Wisconsin, which are conducted on identical lines, shows a divergence of less than 3 per cent. in the general results.

Untabulated data from other organizations show percentages of intemperance very similar to those given. In 97 cases of the Missouri Humane Society, for instance, about 42 per cent. were due to drink; the estimate for the Massachusetts Society for the Preven-

SUMMARY II.

DESTITUTION AND NEGLECT OF CHILDREN AS AFFECTED BY THE USE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS, BY NATIVITY.

Nativity of Children.		Condition due to intemperate habits of one or both parents.			Condition due to intemperate habits of natural or legal guardians.			Condition due to intemperate habits of others not parents or guardians.			Condition due to intemperate habits of parents, guardians, or others.			Total.
		Yes.	No.	Not reported.	Yes.	No.	Not reported.	Yes.	No.	Not reported.	Yes.	No.	Not reported.	
Native born.	Number.	1931	2223	382	62	4114	360	42	4114	380	1977	2187	372	4536
	Per cent.	42.57	49.01	8.42	1.37	90.70	7.93	0.92	90.70	8.38	43.59	48.21	8.20	88.32
Foreign born.	Number.	53	52	6	3	104	6	1	106	6	56	51	6	113
	Per cent.	48.67	46.02	5.31	2.65	92.04	5.31	0.88	93.81	5.31	49.56	45.13	5.31	2.20
Unknown.	Number.	321	149	17	–	471	16	–	471	16	321	150	16	487
	Per cent.	65.91	30.60	3.49	–	96.71	3.29	–	96.71	3.29	65.91	30.80	3.29	9.48
Total.	Number.	2307	2424	405	65	4689	382	43	4691	402	2354	2388	394	5136
	Per cent.	44.92	47.20	7.88	1.26	91.30	7.44	0.84	91.33	7.83	45.83	46.50	7.67	100.00

SUMMARY III.

DESTITUTION AND NEGLECT OF CHILDREN AS AFFECTED BY THE USE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS, BY PARENT NATIVITY.

Parent Nativity.		Condition due to intemperate habits of one or both parents.			Condition due to intemperate habits of natural or legal guardians.			Condition due to intemperate habits of others not parents or guardians.			Condition due to intemperate habits of parents, guardians, or others.			Total.
		Yes.	No.	Not reported.	Yes.	No.	Not reported.	Yes.	No.	Not reported.	Yes.	No.	Not reported.	
Both parents native.	Number.	579	859	180	22	1435	161	24	1422	172	605	840	173	1618
	Per cent.	35.79	53.09	11.12	1.36	88.69	9.95	1.48	87.89	10.63	37.40	51.91	10.69	31.50
Both parents foreign.	Number.	571	570	38	10	1133	36	8	1131	40	579	564	36	1179
	Per cent.	48.43	48.35	3.22	0.85	96.10	3.05	0.68	95.93	3.39	49.11	47.84	3.05	22.96
Both parents unknown.	Number.	937	755	148	27	1666	147	9	1679	152	946	747	147	1840
	Per cent.	50.93	41.03	8.04	1.47	90.54	7.99	0.49	91.25	8.26	51.41	40.60	7.99	35.82
Father native, mother foreign.	Number.	26	36	3	–	62	3	–	62	3	26	36	3	65
	Per cent.	40.00	4.62	55.38	–	95.38	4.62	–	95.38	4.62	40.00	4.62	55.38	1.27
Father foreign, mother native.	Number.	102	111	14	–	213	14	–	213	14	102	111	14	227
	Per cent.	44.93	48.90	6.17	–	93.83	6.17	–	93.83	6.17	44.93	48.90	6.17	4.42
Father native, mother unknown.	Number.	24	31	7	1	54	7	–	55	7	25	30	7	62
	Per cent.	38.71	50.00	11.29	1.61	87.10	11.29	–	88.71	11.29	40.32	48.39	11.29	1.21
Father foreign, mother unknown.	Number.	58	32	6	1	90	5	1	90	5	59	32	5	96
	Per cent.	60.42	33.33	6.25	1.04	93.75	5.21	1.04	93.75	5.21	61.46	33.33	5.21	1.87
Father unknown, mother native.	Number.	6	20	8	2	24	8	1	25	8	8	18	8	34
	Per cent.	17.65	58.82	23.53	5.88	70.59	23.53	2.94	73.53	23.53	23.53	52.94	23.53	0.66
Father unknown, mother foreign.	Number.	4	10	1	2	12	1	–	14	1	4	10	1	15
	Per cent.	26.66	66.67	6.67	13.33	80.00	6.67	–	93.33	6.67	26.66	66.67	6.67	0.29
Total.	Number.	2307	2424	405	65	4689	382	43	4691	402	2354	2388	394	5136
	Per cent.	44.92	47.20	7.88	1.26	91.30	7.44	0.84	91.33	7.83	45.83	46.50	7.67	100.00

tion of Cruelty to Children is about 65 per cent.; and in 155 cases cared for during the year ending August 1, 1898, by the Children's Home Society of Minnesota, about 34 per cent. We know of no other investigations undertaken either in this country or abroad on similar lines, and thus are without comparable data.

CHAPTER V.

THE LIQUOR PROBLEM IN ITS RELATIONS TO CRIME.

In order that the reader, fully realizing the necessary limitations of this research, may take the statistics at their true value, we preface our analysis with some observations of a general character.

To a greater extent than the investigations of poverty and pauperism, the present involves a psychological element affecting both the investigator and his subject. A densely ignorant convict — and we find many such — cannot be expected to view his past in a very clear perspective, or to distinguish unerringly between the circumstances and events that influenced his development into a criminal. Neither is it probable that the warped mind of the "born" criminal (if there be such) will permit him to see things in their true relations. Yet the object was to draw from both classes of convicts a life history, which to answer the purpose required a nice discrimination between factors that, singly or in combination, were most active in giving bent to the character and shaping a future career.

To ascertain the truth, then, it was a requisite either that the convict himself should be able to determine which causes were the most immediate in leading him to a condition which induced the crime and their relations to each other, or that the investigator, having learned what could be learned, should possess sufficient

psychological insight to make correct inferences from sometimes meagre data. But in the case of the "born" criminal, the individual whose degenerate organism handicaps him in the race with other men, the criminal condition has also a physiological basis to which the investigator must give due heed.

When confronting accidental criminals, — and we hold them to constitute a majority of convicts, — the problem may either be intensified or become quite simple. There are men whose criminal acts, springing from undiscoverable causes, seem to lack every plausible motive; cases of atavism, some would call them. On the other hand, there are numerous accidental criminals, the immediate cause of whose anti-social conduct is palpable. Where an unusual and sudden temptation obtains mastery, for instance, as in many cases of assault with intent to kill, motives and causes are not such subtile and elusive quantities.

We mention the great difficulties besetting this kind of an investigation to emphasize the futility of attempts to express in mathematical terms, from which no deviation will be tolerated, the amount of crime attributable to any single cause, especially intemperance, or even a group of causes, and frankly to warn the reader against accepting our percentages as more than approximating the facts they stand for. Nevertheless, we are confident that they afford a truthful exposition of the relations of intemperance to crime, being based upon careful and fair-minded research. Evidence of this is not to be sought in the agreement of our findings with preconceived notions as to the amount of crime due to drink, but in the essential harmony between statistics

gathered by nearly a score of investigators, who though directed by one man have worked in entire independence of each other.

1. *Intemperance as a Cause of Crime by Nativity.*

Summary I. exhibits the rank intemperance holds as a cause of crime among the different nationalities contributing to our prison population, but without reference to the kind of crime. The regrettable necessity of limiting our schedules to the most essential questions forbade inquiry about the parent nativity of convicts. We are thus left without knowledge of the proportion of native-born prisoners who are also of native extraction. It is fair to assume, however, that considerably more than 50 per cent. have parents or one parent of foreign nativity. In two or three prisons the element of native extraction is in the preponderance.

The nationalities appear in their proper relations when we consider crime induced by intemperance generally rather than when connected with a specific kind of intemperance. The totals under some of the kinds of intemperance mentioned are very small for some nationalities, while for others undue prominence may have been given to that form of the liquor habit which could most easily be ascertained.

We find, accordingly, that intemperance as a cause of crime yields percentages for the nationalities in the following order: (1) Scotch, 58.33; (2) Canadian, 56.74; (3) Irish, 56.70; (4) Scandinavian, 56.25; (5) Polish, 53.41; (6) English, 52.92; (7) American, 50.23; (8) Italian, 50.00; (9) German, 44.87; (10) Austrian, 34.62; (11) Russian, 25.00. It will be

observed that this ranking of the nationalities bears no relation to their respective quotas of the total number of convicts.

The order in which we find the nationalities seems, on the whole, to sustain the results reached in previous chapters. Poles and Italians take an unexpectedly high rank, it is true, but Summary IV. affords an explanation. There we learn that the disparity between the percentages of intemperate convicts committed for crime against the person as compared with those of intemperate convicts committed for crime against property are relatively greater among Poles and Italians than among other nationalities. In other words, were it not for the fact that Poles and Italians are guilty of acts of violence, murders, stabbings, etc., out of proportion to their numbers, they would rank much lower in our list. The native born are in about the place we might expect, judging from the relations of native-born applicants for relief and paupers to drink. On the other hand, the Germans, holding ninth place, stand surprisingly low. Most of the convicts classed as Russians being of the Hebrew race, which is noted for its exceptional sobriety the world over, we properly find them at the bottom of the list. In the returns from the single prisons and reformatories, the natives as a rule retain seventh place, though other nationalities are in some cases represented in such small numbers that it is difficult to judge. In the statistics from States having relatively the smaller proportions of foreigners, the native-born convicts drop to eighth or ninth place, for instance in Maine, New Hampshire, and Virginia.

Summary I. *Intemperance as a Cause of Crime, by Nativity.*

Kind of Intemperance contributing to induce the Crime.	Native Born.		Foreign Born.																								Total.	
			England.		Scotland.		Ireland.		Canada.		Germany.		Sweden and Norway.		Italy.		Russia.		Poland.		Austria.		All other countries.		Unknown.			
	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.
Personal	1271	11.89	41	15.95	8	13.33	80	20.62	54	19.15	98	13.78	27	21.09	48	20.34	6	5.77	13	14.77	13	12.50	38	13.92	13	16.45	1710	12.76
Ancestral	295	2.76	6	2.34	5	8.33	7	1.80	7	2.48	12	1.69	3	2.35	6	2.54	1	0.96	2	2.27	–	–	5	1.83	3	3.80	352	2.63
Associates	716	6.70	18	7.00	4	6.67	18	4.64	17	6.03	38	5.35	10	7.81	12	5.09	5	4.81	7	7.96	3	2.89	16	5.86	5	6.33	869	6.48
Personal and ancestral	181	1.69	5	1.94	3	5.00	11	2.83	8	2.83	7	0.98	1	0.78	5	2.12	2	1.92	3	3.41	–	–	7	2.56	1	1.27	234	1.75
Personal and of associates	1971	18.43	45	17.51	10	16.67	61	15.72	56	19.86	91	12.80	18	14.06	28	11.86	11	10.58	13	14.77	12	11.54	32	11.72	7	8.86	2355	17.57
Personal, ancestral, and of associates	517	4.83	14	5.45	3	5.00	32	8.25	14	4.97	37	5.20	7	5.47	14	5.93	1	0.96	5	5.68	5	4.81	13	4.76	6	7.59	668	4.98
Ancestral and of associates	146	1.37	3	1.17	–	–	10	2.58	1	0.36	23	3.24	5	3.91	4	1.70	–	–	3	3.41	2	1.92	4	1.47	1	1.27	202	1.51
Intemperance (not specified)	274	2.56	4	1.56	2	3.33	1	0.26	3	1.06	13	1.83	1	0.78	1	0.42	–	–	1	1.14	1	0.96	3	1.10	–	–	304	2.27
Crime induced by intemperance	5371	50.23	136	52.92	35	58.33	220	56.70	160	56.74	319	44.87	72	56.25	118	50.00	26	25.00	47	53.41	36	34.62	118	43.22	36	45.57	6694	49.95
Crime not induced by intemperance	5321	49.77	121	47.08	25	41.67	168	43.30	122	43.26	392	55.13	56	43.75	118	50.00	78	75.00	41	46.59	68	65.38	155	56.78	43	54.43	6708	50.05
Total	10692	79.78	257	1.92	60	0.45	388	2.89	282	2.10	711	5.30	128	0.95	236	1.76	104	0.78	88	0.66	104	0.78	273	2.04	79	0.59	13402	100.00

Further information about intemperance as a cause of crime with respect to nationality is given on succeeding pages.

Summary I. finally shows that the different nationalities have contributed to the total number of 13,402 convicts in the following ratio: (1) American, 79.78 per cent.; (2) German, 5.30 per cent.; (3) Irish, 2.89 per cent.; (4) Canadian, 2.10 per cent.; (5) English, 1.92 per cent.; (6) Italian, 1.76 per cent.; (7) Scandinavian, 0.95 per cent.; (8) Russian, 0.78 per cent.; (9) Austrian, 0.78 per cent.; (10) Polish, 0.66 per cent.; (11) Scotch, 0.45 per cent.; all other countries, 2.04 per cent., while 0.59 per cent. are unknown. These percentages hold no proportion either to the numerical strength or the drink habits of the nationalities. That is to say, given an equal representation in any State of the nationalities in question, it by no means follows that the one most given to the drink habit will contribute the largest share of criminals. This does not affect the proposition that more convicts of hard-drinking people will owe their criminal condition to drink than those of a notably temperate nationality.

2. *By Kind of Crime.*

For crime against property, 70.92 per cent. of the convicts were committed; for crime against the person, 23.17 per cent.; for both kinds in conjunction, 3.01 per cent. (largely assaults with intent to rob), and for other crimes, 2.90 per cent. Under the last head come all the offenses against the United States, such as counterfeiting, breaking revenue and postal laws, etc.

SUMMARY II. *Intemperance as a Cause of Crime, by Kind of Crime.*

KIND OF INTEMPERANCE CONTRIBUTING TO INDUCE THE CRIME.	CRIMES FOR WHICH COMMITTED.								Aggregate cases reported.	
	Against property.		Against the person.		Against property and the person.		Other crimes.			
	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.
Personal	1175	12.36	426	13.72	83	20.60	26	6.68	1710	12.76
Ancestral	258	2.72	78	2.51	6	1.49	10	2.57	352	2.63
Associates	634	6.67	194	6.25	20	4.96	21	5.40	869	6.48
Personal and ancestral	161	1.69	65	2.09	3	0.74	5	1.28	234	1.75
Personal and of associates	1644	17.30	583	18.78	81	20.10	47	12.09	2355	17.57
Personal, ancestral, and of associates	479	5.04	152	4.90	9	2.24	28	7.20	668	4.98
Ancestral and of associates	157	1.65	37	1.19	1	0.25	7	1.80	202	1.51
Intemperance (not specified)	196	2.06	65	2.09	3	0.74	40	10.28	304	2.27
Crime induced by intemperance	4704	49.49	1600	51.53	206	51.12	184	47.30	6694	49.95
Crime not induced by intemperance	4801	50.51	1505	48.47	197	48.88	205	52.70	6708	50.05
Total	9505	70.92	3105	23.17	403	3.01	389	2.90	13402	100.00

It conforms to experience that more of the crimes against the person than of those against property should be induced by intemperance; yet the difference is not considerable. Rape and kindred offenses against the person were found due to intemperance in comparatively few instances, and then more often to ancestral intemperance. Murders and ordinary assaults, on the contrary, were frequently connected with personal and ancestral intemperance, and not infrequently with all three kinds enumerated. Crimes against both person and property seem related to the drink habit in about the same proportion as crimes against the person. From the nature of the offenses, the fourth class of crimes shows the remotest relation to drink. It requires better nerves than the drunkard's to counterfeit or "work" post-offices successfully.

We have shown how the different classes of offenses may be referred to intemperance as a general crime cause. We distinguish, however, between different kinds of intemperance, and it may be said that a clear distinction was not easy to maintain, neither did all investigators give the matter equal weight.

Personal intemperance we find to be a cause of the crimes against property and against the person in about equal percentages, but it jumps to a surprising percentage in the third class (against property *and* the person). A reason for the latter may be that drunken loafers, members of gangs that infest certain quarters of large cities, are frequently arrested for highway robbery. Relatively half as many crimes of the fourth class as of the first are due to the personal abuse of intoxicants. That intemperance both of an-

cestors and of associates should be closely related to crimes against property is also in confirmation of general experience. Personal and ancestral intemperance is a common combination in murder cases, hence we find it in the largest percentage under crimes against the person. The combination personal and of associates yields percentages in not unexpected proportions, except, perhaps, for the last group of crimes. An explanation may be in the fact that among the 47 convicts in this group were many first offenders. Where intemperance of all three kinds is given as a crime cause, the schedules with striking frequency referred to habitual criminals. It accords to find the largest percentage of this combination in the first and last groups of crimes, for habitual offenders are infrequently guilty of acts of violence. Among the highest grade of criminals, professional thieves, burglars, "cracksmen," etc., there is very little personal intemperance. The weakness of the "celebrated" criminal runs to women, not to wine.

3. *Principal Causes of Crime by Nativity.*

The relations of nationality to intemperance as a crime cause are shown in a new light in the next summary. Here intemperance is excluded from all cases in which it was not the principal or first cause of crime. Consequently, the full extent of drink as a crime cause is not under discussion, and, as before remarked, the fairest estimate of the nationality question must be the one already given.

The points of interest in the summary can be taken in at a glance when we arrange the nationalities accord-

ing to their percentages under each of the principal causes. We get the following order : —

Unfavorable environment	Lack of industrial training	Intemperance	Not due to any of these causes
1. Italian	1. Austrian	1. Scandinavian	1. Russian
2. Polish	2. Russian	2. Scotch	2. Scandinavian
3. Canadian	3. German	3. Canadian	3. Austrian
4. Russian	4. American	4. Irish	4. Scotch
5. American	5. Polish	5. English	5. Polish
6. Irish	6. English	6. American	6. German
7. English	7. Italian	7. German	7. Irish
8. German	8. Irish	8. Polish	8. Italian
9. Austrian	9. Scotch	9. Italian	9. English
10. Scotch	10. Canadian	10. Austrian	10. American
11. Scandinavian	11. Scandinavian	11. Russian	11. Canadian

As unfavorable environment of birth and early life we considered parental neglect, want of education, etc., especially the latter. The order of nationalities in the first column is only the expected, unless it be the high rank of the American. But it must be remembered that as such are classed all native born, regardless of extraction. Column 2 offers some surprises ; for instance, the order in which we observe the Austrian, German, and Italian. Our data do not, however, pretend to accurately measure the extent to which industrial training prevails in different countries, and we deal as a rule with their poorest representatives. The Scandinavians occupy a singular position in all these columns, but one in keeping with their national traits. Drink is their chief weakness, and so the most prolific source of crime. As between the three principal causes, intemperance and unfavorable environment are held responsible for nearly equal percentages of crime, both outranking in this respect lack of industrial

training by about 10 per cent. More than 16 per cent. of the total number of cases had no discoverable connection with any of these causes. Among other crime causes we noted the frequency of sexual excesses.

SUMMARY III.

PRINCIPAL CAUSES LEADING TO A CONDITION WHICH INDUCED THE CRIME, BY NATIVITY OF CRIMINALS.

Nativity of Criminals.		Unfavorable environment.	Lack of industrial training.	Intemperance.	Not due to any of these causes.	Total.
Native born.	Number.	3280	2409	3338	1665	10692
	Per cent.	30.68	22.53	31.22	15.57	79.78
Foreign born.						
England.	Number.	72	47	94	44	257
	Per cent.	28.01	18.29	36.58	17.12	1.92
Scotland.	Number.	14	8	25	13	60
	Per cent.	23.33	13.33	41.67	21.67	0.45
Ireland.	Number.	109	64	146	69	388
	Per cent.	28.09	16.50	37.62	17.78	2.89
Canada.	Number.	95	37	113	37	282
	Per cent.	33.69	13.12	40.07	13.12	2.10
Germany.	Number.	199	176	197	139	711
	Per cent.	27.99	24.75	27.70	19.56	5.30
Sweden and Norway.	Number.	26	15	54	33	128
	Per cent.	20.31	11.72	42.19	25.78	0.95
Italy.	Number.	92	43	60	41	236
	Per cent.	38.98	18.22	25.43	17.37	1.76
Russia.	Number.	34	26	13	31	104
	Per cent.	32.69	25.00	12.50	29.81	0.78
Poland.	Number.	30	17	23	18	88
	Per cent.	34.09	19.32	26.14	20.45	0.66
Austria.	Number.	29	32	19	24	104
	Per cent.	27.88	30.77	18.27	23.08	0.78
All other countries.	Number.	80	48	77	68	273
	Per cent.	29.30	17.58	28.21	24.91	2.04
Unknown.	Number.	31	21	20	7	79
	Per cent.	39.24	26.58	25.32	8.86	0.59
Total.	Number.	4091	2943	4179	2189	13402
	Per cent.	30.53	21.96	31.18	16.33	100.00

4. *Principal Causes by Nativity of Criminals and Kind of Crime.*

That crimes of violence, that is, against the person, occur with greater frequency among certain nationalities than among others is a matter frequently commented upon by students and observers. It seems, therefore, a legitimate inquiry whether any definite relations can be established between nationality and kind of crime, as well as between the crime cause and kind of crime in respect to nationality. The next summary is an attempt in this direction.

The following nationalities yield relatively larger percentages of crime against property than of crime against the person: American, English, Canadian, German, Russian, Polish, and Austrian, while for the Scotch we get exactly the same percentages for both classes of crime. Among Italians, Irish, and Scandinavians, on the contrary, a proportionately larger number of convicts were committed for crimes against the person. But the relations of nationalities to kinds of crime must not be taken as in the least indicative of the proportion in which they contribute to the criminal classes. So many gaps occur under the classes "Against property *and* the person" and "Other crimes" in our summary that little need be said, except to direct attention to the many Germans, Canadians, and Russians committed for offenses principally against Federal laws. In examining the connection between principal causes of crime and kinds of crime, we also confine ourselves to the first two classes of crime.

In the column showing intemperance as a principal

Summary IV. *Principal Causes of Crime, by Nativity of Criminals and Kind of Crime.*

Nativity of Criminals.		Against Property.					Against the Person.					Against Property and Person.					Other Crimes.					Crime induced by these causes.	Crime not induced by any of these causes.	Aggregate.
		Unfavorable environment.	Lack of industrial training.	Intemperance.	Crime not induced by any of these causes.	Total.	Unfavorable environment.	Lack of industrial training.	Intemperance.	Crime not induced by any of these causes.	Total.	Unfavorable environment.	Lack of industrial training.	Intemperance.	Crime not induced by any of these causes.	Total.	Unfavorable environment.	Lack of industrial training.	Intemperance.	Crime not induced by any of these causes.	Total.			
Native born.	Number.	2280	1965	2302	1061	7708	714	345	831	466	2356	61	52	130	81	324	125	47	75	57	304	9027	1665	10692
	Per cent.	30.88	25.49	29.87	13.76	81.10	30.31	14.64	35.27	19.78	75.88	18.83	16.05	40.12	25.00	80.40	41.12	15.46	24.67	18.75	78.15	80.50	76.06	79.78
Foreign born.																								
England.	Number.	49	37	68	32	186	16	8	23	9	56	4	2	3	2	11	3	–	–	1	4	213	44	257
	Per cent.	26.34	19.89	36.56	17.21	1.96	28.57	14.29	41.07	16.07	1.80	36.37	18.18	27.27	18.18	2.73	75.00	–	–	25.00	1.03	1.90	2.01	1.92
Scotland.	Number.	9	7	17	10	43	4	1	8	1	14	1	–	–	2	3	–	–	–	–	–	47	13	60
	Per cent.	20.93	16.28	39.53	23.26	0.45	28.57	7.14	57.15	7.14	0.45	33.33	–	–	66.67	0.74	–	–	–	–	–	0.42	0.59	0.45
Ireland.	Number.	64	50	70	34	218	56	10	67	28	161	5	2	8	6	21	4	2	1	1	8	319	69	388
	Per cent.	29.36	22.93	32.11	15.60	2.29	25.33	7.09	47.52	19.86	4.54	23.81	9.52	38.10	28.57	5.21	50.00	25.00	12.50	12.50	2.06	2.85	3.15	2.89
Canada.	Number.	66	31	73	24	194	19	3	32	7	61	1	–	5	5	11	9	1	5	3	16	245	37	282
	Per cent.	34.02	15.98	37.63	12.37	2.04	31.15	4.92	52.46	11.47	1.96	9.09	18.18	45.46	27.27	2.72	56.25	6.25	18.75	18.75	4.12	2.19	1.63	2.10
Germany.	Number.	139	158	139	95	531	52	15	49	36	152	1	–	3	3	7	7	3	6	5	21	572	139	711
	Per cent.	26.18	29.75	26.18	17.89	5.59	34.21	9.87	32.24	23.68	4.90	14.28	–	42.86	42.86	1.74	33.33	14.29	28.57	23.81	5.40	5.10	6.35	5.30
Sweden and Norway.	Number.	16	12	35	21	84	5	2	17	12	39	–	–	1	–	1	2	1	–	–	3	95	33	128
	Per cent.	19.05	14.28	41.67	25.00	0.88	29.51	5.13	43.59	30.77	1.26	–	–	100.	–	0.25	50.00	25.00	25.00	–	1.03	0.85	1.51	0.95
Italy.	Number.	37	25	11	9	82	47	14	49	31	141	5	2	–	1	8	3	2	–	–	5	195	41	236
	Per cent.	45.12	30.49	13.41	10.98	0.86	33.33	9.93	34.75	21.99	4.54	62.50	25.00	–	12.50	1.98	60.00	40.00	–	–	1.28	1.74	1.87	1.76
Russia.	Number.	26	23	10	17	76	4	1	3	6	14	–	–	–	6	6	4	2	–	2	8	73	31	104
	Per cent.	34.21	30.26	13.16	22.37	0.80	28.57	7.14	21.43	42.86	0.45	–	–	–	100.	1.49	50.00	25.00	–	25.00	2.06	0.65	1.42	0.78
Poland.	Number.	23	15	14	11	63	2	2	8	2	19	–	–	1	3	4	–	–	–	2	2	70	18	88
	Per cent.	36.51	23.81	22.22	17.46	0.66	36.84	10.53	42.10	10.53	0.61	–	–	25.00	75.00	0.99	–	–	–	100.	0.51	0.62	0.82	0.66
Austria.	Number.	21	30	11	16	78	8	2	7	7	24	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	2	80	24	104
	Per cent.	26.93	38.46	14.10	20.51	0.82	33.33	8.33	29.17	29.17	0.77	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	50.00	50.00	0.51	0.71	1.10	0.78
All other countries.	Number.	54	41	51	42	188	21	5	20	22	68	–	–	5	2	7	5	2	1	2	10	265	68	273
	Per cent.	28.72	21.81	27.13	22.34	1.98	30.88	7.36	29.41	32.35	2.19	–	–	71.43	28.57	1.74	50.00	20.00	10.00	20.00	2.57	1.83	3.11	2.04
Unknown.	Number.	19	20	11	4	54	9	–	8	3	20	–	–	–	–	–	3	1	1	–	5	72	7	79
	Per cent.	35.18	37.04	20.37	7.41	0.57	45.00	–	40.00	15.00	0.65	–	–	–	–	–	60.00	20.00	20.00	–	1.28	0.64	0.32	0.59
Total.	Number.	2903	2414	2812	1376	9505	945	498	1122	630	3195	78	60	156	109	403	165	61	89	74	389	11213	2189	13402
	Per cent.	30.54	25.40	29.58	14.48	100.	30.43	13.14	36.14	20.29	100.	19.35	14.89	38.71	27.05	100.	42.42	15.68	22.88	19.02	100.	83.67	16.33	100.

cause of crimes against property, we find that the nationalities stand in the same order as in Summary III., except that the Austrian and Italian convicts have exchanged places. But under crimes against the person, an arrangement of the nationalities by intemperance as the principal cause produces naturally a duplicate of the order given in Summary I., in which we dealt with intemperance of all kinds, whether occurring as a principal, secondary, or a remoter cause, for the reason that some of the hardest-drinking nationalities are more largely guilty of crime against the person. Reference to the peculiar showing of the Polish and Italian convicts has already been made in the analysis of Summary I.

What we conceive to be the hardest-drinking nationalities yield the highest percentages of intemperance as a cause of crime under both classes of crime. It seems a warrantable inference that intemperance is a principal cause of the different kinds of crime among the various nationalities to about the same extent as that to which the liquor habit prevails among them.

With respect to unfavorable environment as a principal cause of crime against property, the nationalities appear in the same order as given in Summary III., with unimportant variations, the Italians, Poles, Russians, and Canadians again appearing in strikingly large percentages. Lack of industrial training as a principal cause of crime against property by nationalities gives the latter practically as before, except that Italy drops from the second to the seventh place, with a couple of other minor changes. But under crimes against the person, the nationalities take a different

rank both with regard to unfavorable environment and lack of industrial training as principal causes. The order is as follows: —

Unfavorable Environment.	*Lack of Industrial Training.*
1. Polish	1. American
2. German	2. English
3. Italian	3. Polish
4. Austrian	4. Italian
5. Canadian	5. German
6. American	6. Austrian
7. English	7. Scotch
8. Scotch	8. Russian
9. Russian	9. Irish
10. Irish	10. Scandinavian
11. Scandinavian	11. Canadian

Crimes against the person seem to have a much more natural and direct relation to unfavorable environment as a principal cause than to lack of industrial training, although it is undeniably true that the latter is active in some cases. Lack of industrial training occurs as a principal cause only in 13.14 per cent., but unfavorable environment in 30.43 per cent. of the total number of cases, while the disparity between the two causes under crimes against property is not very pronounced.

5. *By Relative Rank of Causes and by Color.*

Summary V. shows, first, the relative rank of the causes leading to a condition which induced the crime for all convicts, and then, separately, by color. It would be difficult to present a stronger argument than is contained in this table against investigating the

relation of crime to drink without also considering other fruitful sources of crime. In more than 32 per cent. of the total number of cases, with about 16 per cent. unaccounted for as to crime cause, intemperance contributed to a condition leading to crime in conjunction with one or two other causes, sometimes occurring as the first or again as the second or third cause.

Intemperance holds the highest relative rank, with 16.87 per cent., that is to say, it is more frequently found as the single cause than the other two in question. Our statistics, therefore, point to the conclusion that intemperance is the one most prolific source of criminal condition, but that alone it helps to explain the downfall of but 16.87 per cent. of 13,402 convicts, or about the same percentage as of convicts the cause of whose condition is not accounted for. Unfavorable environment and lack of industrial training are both responsible, when taken singly, for less than half as many cases as intemperance, but taken together and where they are in combination, they were held to be the causes of the criminal condition of nearly twice as many of our convicts as intemperance by itself. The importance of the two causes other than drink was thus not overestimated when the investigation was set on foot.

It follows from the previous analysis that, both singly and in combinations, unfavorable environment should hold a higher rank throughout the table as a cause than lack of industrial training, and that intemperance should overtop both. Intemperance is the first cause in four of the combinations in which it occurs ; unfavorable environment in three ; and lack of

industrial training in three; but the last mentioned, when a first cause, shows the lowest percentages.

Our statistics embrace returns from but one typical Southern state prison, that of Richmond, Va. Nei-

SUMMARY V.

RELATIVE RANK OF CAUSES LEADING TO A CONDITION WHICH INDUCED THE CRIME, BY COLOR.

Causes of Crime according to their Relative Rank.	Total.			White.			Colored.		
	Number.	Per cent.	Rank.	Number.	Per cent.	Rank.	Number.	Per cent.	Rank.
Intemperance	2261	16.87	1	1882	16.53	1	379	18.81	1
Unfavorable environment and lack of industrial training	1576	11.76	2	1424	12.51	2	152	7.54	4
Lack of industrial training and unfavorable environment	998	7.45	3	910	7.99	4	88	4.37	6
Unfavorable environment	986	7.36	4	916	8.04	3	70	3.47	7
Lack of industrial training	959	7.16	5	777	6.82	5	182	9.03	2
Intemperance and unfavorable environment	677	5.05	6	641	5.63	6	36	1.79	12
Unfavorable environment and intemperance	648	4.84	7	598	5.25	7	50	2.48	10
Lack of industrial training and intemperance	499	3.72	8	329	2.89	12	170	8.44	3
Intemperance and lack of industrial training	479	3.57	9	416	3.65	9	63	3.13	8
Intemperance, unfavorable environment, and lack of industrial training	477	3.56	10	419	3.68	8	58	2.88	9
Unfavorable environment, lack of industrial training, and intemperance	461	3.44	11	357	3.13	11	104	5.16	5
Unfavorable environment, intemperance, and lack of industrial training	420	3.13	12	372	3.27	10	48	2.38	11
Intemperance, lack of industrial training, and unfavorable environment	285	2.13	13	250	2.20	13	35	1.74	13
Lack of industrial training, intemperance, and unfavorable environment	268	2.00	14	233	2.05	14	35	1.74	14
Lack of industrial training, unfavorable environment, and intemperance	219	1.63	15	194	1.70	15	25	1.24	15
Crime not induced by any of these causes	2189	16.33		1669	14.66		520	25.80	
Total	13402	100.00		11387	84.96		2015	15.04	

ther was any distinction as to color made by a majority of the investigators, although this was done for the prisons in which the colored element is strongest. About 2000 Negro convicts are accounted for; they constitute about 15 per cent. of the whole number of convicts. We note at once that in a relatively much larger percentage of the colored than of the white (25.80 against 14.66 per cent.), the criminal condition had no relation to any of the three causes. Often the gross ignorance of the Negroes made it impossible to get trustworthy information. Moreover, many crimes committed by them spring from animal passions which are a part of the Negro's inheritance, and exist quite independently of the operation of the causes considered. Such are rape, crimes against nature, and sometimes murder, if in the first degree and not accidentally resulting from a quarrel.

Whether we regard intemperance as a principal or as a general cause, it is seen to affect more vitally the criminal condition of the Negroes than that of the whites. In the first instance we get a lower percentage by about 2 per cent., and in the second by about 10 per cent., in favor of the whites. In other words, while the statistics of poverty as well as of pauperism disclose far less intemperance in the colored race, and, as we have shown in another chapter, all evidence of a general character points to the same fact, Summary V. tells us that among criminals the conditions are reversed. How are these apparent contradictions to be reconciled? Although it is not shown in the tables, we learned from a study of the schedules that proportionately a great many more colored than white

men are imprisoned for crimes against the person committed while under the influence of liquor. That is, they were to an unusual number guilty of unpremeditated stabbings, shootings, and other violent acts resulting from drunken quarrels that are so common among certain classes of Negroes. Elsewhere we refer to the peculiar effects of intoxication upon the Negro. He at once becomes abusive, often violent, and as a rule utterly heedless of his actions. Taking crimes against property alone, we find the percentage of whites who owe their criminal condition to intemperance as a principal cause exceeding that of the colored by nearly 1 per cent. This seems reasonable enough, for it would be contrary to all we know of the Negro character to attribute his propensity for stealing to drink. The inability to distinguish between *meum et tuum* is unfortunately a too familiar failing of the race.

How far our data relating to Negroes are representative, since a majority are derived from a single prison, may perhaps be open to question.

Unfavorable environment and lack of industrial training in combination as causes of crime hold second place among whites, but fourth among the Negroes. Unfavorable environment in the sense of want of education cannot be regarded as a cause in the same way for both races, since in this respect most Negroes are on the same level. Lack of industrial training holds second rank among the colored, and yields a significant percentage. So also does this cause in combination with intemperance; together they occupy third place. Throughout the table unfavorable environment is sec-

ondary to lack of industrial training as a cause of crime among Negroes, while the reverse is true of the relation of these causes to white convicts.

The detail table in the Appendix, showing the relative rank of crime causes by institutions, but without distinction as to color, should be read in the light of the explanations made in succeeding pages.

6. *Principal Causes by Institutions.*

Given three possible causes, all active in leading to a condition which induces crime, it becomes to some extent a matter of personal judgment with the investigator which of the three, supposing all to have affected the life of a convict, shall be considered as the principal or most immediate cause. As between unfavorable environment and lack of industrial training, it is perhaps impossible always clearly to distinguish their relations; much less can it be attributed to any personal bias, if different investigators arrive at different conclusions as to the predominance to be given either. Yet in the statistics for the twelve state prisons in our next summary, the percentages given to unfavorable environment and lack of industrial training as principal causes are either fairly uniform, or the most marked divergences from the mean are easily explainable, except possibly in two instances.

The returns from Sing Sing first attract attention. In addition to the Elmira Reformatory, to which first offenders between the ages of 16 and 30 are sent for lighter crimes, New York State has three state prisons, the one mentioned, a second at Auburn, and the third at Clinton. Convicts sent to these institutions are

divided into three classes: A, first-term men; B, second-term men, and C, the incorrigible, habitual criminals who have already served two terms. Class A goes to Sing Sing, class B to Auburn, and class C to Clinton. It thus happens that Sing Sing gets an unusual class of prisoners; in fact, a great many are from the higher walks of life, men in business and the professions, as well as trusted employees, etc. It is a matter of course, therefore, that both unfavorable environment and intemperance should figure in small percentages for the convicts at Sing Sing. The disproportionate weight given to lack of industrial training has been explained by the interesting statement that while many convicts were not without education in the sense of book knowledge, many lacked that training which insures successful competition in the trades.

In the New Jersey and Virginia prisons lack of industrial training is also strikingly prominent as a crime cause. It is enough to know that in the former there were more colored convicts than in any other except the Virginia prison, and there the Negroes were in the majority. The low percentages under the first two causes for the State Prison of Minnesota are natural, considering that State is largely agricultural, with a preponderance of the Scandinavian element among its inhabitants. When unusual stress is laid upon one cause as the principal, the percentages for the other naturally diminish in proportion. The returns from the State Prison of Indiana are in point.

Turning to the reformatories, we observe that in the New York institution lack of industrial training outranks the other two principal causes by a large per-

centage, while in the Illinois Reformatory a like prominence is given to unfavorable environment; for both institutions the percentages for intemperance as a principal cause are correspondingly decreased. In both places the investigators doubtless had convincing reasons for the data arrived at. The discrepancy between them only confirms what we said about personal judgment in determining the relations of two or more causes. It must not be lost sight of that the question in this summary is not the extent to which intemperance leads to a condition which induces crime, but only how far it, compared with two other causes, may be regarded as a principal cause. The careful and thorough investigation made both at Elmira and Pontiac is evinced by the very small percentages unaccounted for.

The returns from the remaining reformatories show a fair degree of correspondence. The somewhat low percentages under all causes for the Michigan Reformatory must be studied in connection with the unusual percentage of cases not induced by any of the causes mentioned, wherein an explanation may be sought. The schedules from the State Reformatory of Ohio arrived too late to be entered in the tables with other institutions, but we find there the principal causes in the following percentages: Unfavorable environment, 30.22; lack of industrial training, 20.39; intemperance, 49.39, in a total of 407 cases. For all institutions except the last mentioned, intemperance stands as a principal cause in 31.18 per cent. of all cases, exceeding slightly unfavorable environment.

SUMMARY VI.

PRINCIPAL CAUSES LEADING TO A CONDITION WHICH INDUCED THE CRIME, BY INSTITUTIONS.

Institutions.	Principal Causes.								Total.
	Unfavorable environment.		Lack of industrial training.		Intemperance.		Crime not due to any of these causes.		
	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	
Thomaston, Me., State Prison	80	36.53	32	14.61	57	26.03	50	22.83	219
Concord, N. H., State Prison	53	32.72	31	19.14	50	30.86	28	17.28	162
Weathersfield, Ct., State Prison	118	27.77	27	6.35	217	51.06	63	14.82	425
Auburn, N. Y., State Prison	360	35.61	219	21.66	339	33.53	93	9.20	1011
Sing Sing, N. Y., State Prison	5	0.36	245	17.51	352	25.16	797	56.97	1399
Trenton, N. J., State Prison	171	17.43	190	19.37	507	51.68	113	11.52	981
Richmond, Va., State Prison	101	7.85	302	23.44	496	38.51	389	30.20	1288
Joliet, Ill., State Prison	420	34.20	229	18.65	419	34.12	160	13.03	1228
Mich. City, Ind., State Prison	490	55.06	140	15.73	244	27.41	16	1.80	890
Stillwater, Minn., State Prison	102	20.40	57	11.40	244	48.80	97	19.40	500
Waupun, Wis., State Prison	274	59.44	32	6.94	132	28.63	23	4.99	461
Columbus, Ohio, State Prison	209	29.03	97	13.47	295	40.97	119	16.53	720
Elmira, N. Y., State Reformatory	364	28.09	754	58.18	176	13.58	2	0.15	1296
Pontiac, Ill., State Reformatory	978	54.25	527	29.23	286	15.86	12	0.66	1803
Ionia, Mich., State Reformatory	121	24.20	2	0.40	165	33.00	212	42.40	500
St. Cloud, Minn., State Reformatory	52	37.97	20	14.60	54	39.41	11	8.03	137
Jeffersonville, Ind., State Reformatory	193	50.52	39	10.21	146	38.22	4	1.05	382
Total	4091	30.53	2943	21.96	4179	31.18	2189	16.33	13402

7. *Relative Rank of Intemperance, by Institutions.*

In the final summing up of intemperance as a cause leading to a condition which induced the crime, we first show the relative rank of intemperance as a cause. The percentages under this caption of course merely signify that in the cases in which intemperance appeared as a cause, it was to such an extent regarded as

a first cause, to such as the second cause in rank, etc. The figures for the different institutions necessarily correspond to those in the preceding summary, showing the principal causes by institutions. Although Sing Sing yields the lowest percentage of intemperance as a cause of crime, it is considered as the first cause in a higher percentage than elsewhere, but does not appear at all as third cause. This is natural, in view of the very limited number of cases in which the other two causes were present. It is a matter of surprise, however, to find that in the Michigan Reformatory intemperance is not given place as a third cause in a single instance. The other reformatories present a contrast in this respect, especially the New York and Illinois institutions, the former giving intemperance the relatively largest percentage as a third cause, but the latter as a second cause. The Michigan Reformatory is, or rather was, in a class by itself at the time of the investigation, for the reason that it had been made to receive the overflow from the state prison; and if we are not misinformed, a number of convicts were foisted upon it who, from the nature of their crimes, ages, and previous history, had no place in a reformatory.

But the rank given intemperance by different investigators, however interesting and suggestive, is a matter largely determined by their views on the subject of crime causes generally. It would be most ungracious as well as unjust to intimate that certain investigators had erred by their manner of ranking intemperance. At the same time the statistics give undeniable evidence that some of our co-laborers, having found intemperance to be a cause, were more disposed than others to regard it as more active than the other causes

RELATIVE RANK OF INTEMPERANCE AS A CAUSE LEADING TO A CONDITION WHICH INDUCED THE CRIME, BY INSTITUTIONS.

Institutions.	Relative Rank of Intemperance as a Cause.						Cases in which intemperance was a cause of crime.		Cases in which intemperance was not a cause of crime.		Total.
	First cause.		Second cause.		Third cause.						
	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	
Thomaston, Me., State Prison	57	64.04	28	31.46	4	4.50	89	40.64	130	59.36	219
Concord, N. H., State Prison	50	86.20	4	6.90	4	6.90	58	35.80	104	64.20	162
Weathersfield, Ct., State Prison	217	70.45	83	26.95	8	2.60	308	72.47	117	27.53	425
Auburn, N. Y., State Prison	339	60.86	178	31.96	40	7.18	557	55.09	454	44.91	1011
Sing Sing N. Y., State Prison	352	96.17	14	3.83	–	–	366	26.16	1033	73.84	1399
Trenton, N. J., State Prison	507	75.33	114	16.95	52	7.72	673	68.60	308	31.40	981
Richmond, Va., State Prison	496	72.41	148	21.60	41	5.99	685	53.18	603	46.82	1288
Joliet, Ill., State Prison	419	81.84	64	12.50	29	5.66	512	41.69	716	58.31	1228
Mich. City, Ind., State Prison	244	61.15	85	21.30	70	17.55	399	44.83	491	55.17	890
Stillwater, Minn., State Prison	244	81.34	49	16.33	7	2.33	300	60.00	200	40.00	500
Waupun, Wis., State Prison	132	46.48	104	36.62	48	16.90	284	61.61	177	38.39	461
Columbus, Ohio, State Prison	295	63.03	127	27.14	46	9.83	468	65.00	252	35.00	720
Elmira, N. Y., State Reformatory	176	29.38	255	42.57	168	28.05	599	46.22	697	53.78	1296
Pontiac, Ill., State Reformatory	286	31.60	465	51.38	154	17.02	905	50.19	898	49.81	1803
Ionia, Mich., State Reformatory	165	80.49	40	19.51	–	–	205	41.00	295	59.00	500
St. Cloud, Minn., State Reformatory	54	62.07	25	28.73	8	9.20	87	63.50	50	36.50	137
Jeffersonville, Ind., State Reformatory	146	73.37	52	26.13	1	0.50	199	52.09	183	47.91	382
Total	4179	62.43	1835	27.41	680	10.16	6694	49.95	6708	50.05	13402

operative in the same case. Yet, after all, the vital point in the investigation, as well as the test of its accuracy, is the extent to which intemperance is a cause of crime, no matter what its rank, and how far the returns in this respect are in substantial agreement. We have already referred to the reasons for the small percentage of intemperance in the Sing Sing prison. Next lowest is that of the state prison of New Hampshire. In proportion to the total number of convicts, which is very small, it has lately recruited more prisoners from the classes supposedly free from crime than most of the other prisons; more, for instance, than that of Maine. Convicts of native extraction were also more numerous than usual.

Whether the abnormally high percentage for the Connecticut prison is attributable to any unusual circumstance, or reflects a particularly severe construction of the term intemperance, we are unprepared to say.

Attention is called to the percentages for the reformatories of New York and Illinois. Not only are they close together, but they occupy a middle ground between the extremes in the column.

As a final result we learn that intemperance was on the average a cause of crime in 49.95 per cent. of 13,402 convicts, while as a principal cause intemperance occurred on the average in 31.18 per cent. of all cases. The former percentage is the all-important. It stands, we believe, for an approximate expression of the truth. In the nature of the case, nothing more can be claimed for it.

Statistics resulting from other investigations of crime causes are not readily comparable with ours, since none have been conducted on precisely the same lines.

In the investigation recently made by the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics, it is shown that, in 50.88 per cent. of all convictions for other crimes than drunkenness, "the intemperate habits of the criminal led to a condition which induced the crime" (26th Annual Report, p. 137). This investigation was restricted to institutions in Massachusetts, but embraced the inmates of all minor penal establishments. Intemperance was the only crime cause considered. Assuming, however, that other causes than intemperance were active in the Massachusetts cases, and that the percentage 50.88 practically means that to this extent intemperance was *a* cause leading to a condition which induced crime, the agreement between these figures and ours is too striking to need further comment.

Of 233 cases of convicts in the Sing Sing and Auburn prisons, New York, Mr. Dugdale found that of those who had committed crimes against the person, 40.47 per cent. were habitual drunkards, while of those convicted of crimes against property, 38.74 per cent. were habitual drunkards. Of the former about 38 per cent. and of the latter about 43 per cent., came from intemperate families. Among 176 habitual criminals, 45.45 per cent. came from intemperate families and 42.61 per cent. were habitual drunkards. (The Jukes, p. 187.)

In the *Statistique Penitentiaire Suisse*, 1893, we are told that in 30.80 per cent. of 3142 convicts (228 females) drink was the direct cause of crime. All minor prisons were included in this investigation. Neither in this country or abroad have other investigations of this nature come to our notice.

CHAPTER VI.

THE RELATIONS OF THE NEGROES TO THE LIQUOR PROBLEM.

In the studies hitherto made of the Negro problem, references to the drink question are conspicuous only by their absence. No reputable author, so far as known, has seized on the liquor habit to explain the source of the most deplorable social traits observable among the present-day Negroes, — shiftlessness and consequent poverty, the development of a distinctly criminal class, and immorality. Is it that the relations of the Negroes to drink, being overshadowed by graver aspects of the problem, have escaped serious study, or is the race as yet comparatively untouched by the ravages of intemperance? It is certainly remarkable that in the teeming discussions of the barriers to the second emancipation of the race, the coming of which lacks not for prophets, little if any attention is paid the subject of inebriety. Yet no one ventures to assume that the colored people are wholly untainted by this vice. What, then, are their habits and peculiarities with respect to the use of alcoholic beverages, and what are its palpable consequences? Categorical answers are perhaps impossible. The subject becomes most easily approachable when the rural and urban populations are considered separately. What applies to the country Negro, especially

the primitive plantation darky, may not be equally true of his city-bred brother, who, if not far beyond him in real advancement, is more learned in the wicked ways of the world. Since the rural Negroes constitute about 80 per cent. of the 9,000,000 or 10,000,000 colored in the United States, their relations to the drink question are of the greater interest; and some light on what they are may be gleaned from a study of local conditions in a typical plantation community in the black belt of the South.

Such a community is Lowndes County, Ala.,[1] population 32,000, of which 28,000 are black and 4000 white. It is situated in the land of big cotton plantations, the largest town having, in 1890, 500 inhabitants, and the county-seat 350. Before the war it was a region of commercial slavery, containing few of the patriarchal type of planters, and to-day is the region of crop mortgage farming. Since 1890 the county has been "dry," that is, there are no saloons. "Blind tigers," both of the stationary and "walking" varieties, abound. The small country store is the "blind tiger." There are no kitchen-bars, nor is liquor sold from the cabins. There is no difficulty in getting liquor, but the whites procure theirs through the blacks, which lessens the risk of the white "blind tiger." The Negro monopolizes the "walking blind tiger" business; he carries a whiskey flask and sells drinks at five cents apiece. Some of this retail sale is done by Negroes for the whites, but most of it is on

[1] For the facts contained in this sketch, the committee is indebted to the Rev. Pitt Dillingham, Principal of Calhoun Colored School.

the black man's own account. No liquor is sold in the small county stores to be drunk on the premises; jugs and bottles are emptied outside, in the rear of the store or vicinity. Not much is taken into the cabins except on special occasions. Liquor is supplied from the city of Montgomery, in the adjoining county of the same name, which is under license. Colored people are not allowed to buy liquors on credit; and as ready money is very scarce among them, this helps to check the expenditure for drink. A man with good credit at a given store may sometimes obtain liquor without paying cash, but this is the exception to the rule. There are no arrests for drunkenness, either of colored people or white. In license days a Negro who got drunk was perhaps shut up in a cotton-house for a few hours, but this was done by the liquor-seller, not by the constable.

Liquors are little used in the cabins except on Christmas Day, when drinking is universal. It is a part of the Southern custom. In slavery time it was the habit of the master to send gin or whiskey to the cabins Christmas morning. Large planters have preserved this custom so far as the "hands" who rent from them are concerned, if the planters live on the plantation, which is not common. Every cabin buys its half gallon of whiskey (price one dollar) for Christmas, and open house is kept. The first eggnog is taken before breakfast, and is followed by eggnogs throughout the day. Many get "pretty full," but not many "down drunk." The custom of drinking at weddings and funerals is not observed, except that "walking blind tigers" may sell five-cent drinks to those outside the house.

Saturday is store day and general loafing and drinking day. Some Negroes hunt hard for small cash jobs on Saturday, such as garden work, cutting wood for the whites, in order to get a nickel or dime for whiskey. Scarcely any wine, very little beer, and not much cider is taken; whiskey is the standard drink. Saturday-night drinking, being largely social, is accompanied by much treating. Each man belongs to a "crowd," made up generally of six persons, who divide a quart-bottle of whiskey. On account of the treating habit, men drink more than they otherwise would. In license days, a man would take his wife and children into the saloon, and all lined up at the bar. Under prohibition, women and children drink less, although the so-called "rough women" imbibe a good deal, and some of the better class will take liquor in the cabins, or with their husbands, on Saturday night. There is little or no habitual drunkenness among the Negroes of Lowndes County. At most a man goes on a heavy spree at Christmas time, or now and then gets "pretty full" on a Saturday night. But no colored drunkard has yet presented himself whose habits interfered with his work on his own land, or prevented him from getting employment. Among the whites of the county there are some whiskey wrecks of the worst kind. A colored man of very large experience estimates that poor "renters," corresponding to laborers in the North, spend on an average fifty cents a week (buying ten drinks), or about twenty-five dollars a year, for whiskey. This would mean that one bale of five-cent cotton, raised by very hard labor on three acres of land, goes to whiskey. Ten bales of cotton being an average yield from a one-mule

farm of thirty acres in Lowndes County, the renter thus tithes his income to the liquor-seller. The better Negroes regard the abolition of the open saloon as a gain, especially for the women and young people. The license laws were largely broken while the county was legally "wet," and sales to minors and on Sundays were common. There are no temperance organizations among the colored, but the church exercises *some* restraint in certain cases. Members are occasionally "pulled up" by the minister or deacon, and the better ministers (not many) preach against the drink habit.

Reports from other rural black districts under local prohibition, in Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas, agree in essentials so closely with the statements regarding Lowndes County that it would be a waste of space to give details. The best conditions are observable in places to which Negroes have immigrated within recent years, in hopes of bettering their position. Texas furnishes some notable examples. Less favorable, but not strikingly so, are the accounts from some license communities. It should be remembered, however, that by far the greater area of the agricultural South is under local prohibition most of the time; and where it does not embrace a whole county, the legalized sale of liquor is generally excluded from the places where drinkers are likely to congregate. The whole State of South Carolina is under a system of liquor control which, according to the nearly unanimous testimony of reliable men, has visibly checked drinking among the Negroes.

Under license, women seem to drink more freely, while the gathering of men at village bars, especially

on Saturday night, gives rise to much noisy hilarity and disorder. On "excursions," common enough in various parts of the South to be a nuisance, and at other semi-public entertainments, many carry their own "refreshments," as intoxicants are called, or, more frequently, the privilege of the refreshment stand is sold to the highest bidder, who may be a white man nearly as often as a black. At camp meetings, "big meetings," and kindred religious gatherings, the bar is sometimes the principal attraction. But whether the community be legally dry or legally wet, instances of habitual drunkenness are exceedingly rare. Much evidence may be found to support the theory that the type of common drunkard, with an inherited appetite for intoxicants, has not yet developed among the country Negroes. It is but a generation ago since they and their forbears were forcibly kept out of harm's way. The coming of emancipation did not remove of a sudden all social restraints. The plantation darky did not at once find his way to the white man's bar, and it was longer still before he found the wherewithal to indulge freely in any desire for drink. His poverty even now helps to keep him sober, but it is just as true that he is not possessed by an uncontrollable craving for drink.

Summing up well-attested facts about the relations of the country Negroes, the most striking is the comparative absence of habitual inebriety. They are convivial by nature and delight in the social side of drinking. Abstinence from principle is rare. Once in a while they get drunk, but rarely go off on prolonged sprees. Steady tippling in the cabins is practically unknown. The effect of a debauch wears off with

singular rapidity, and does not seem to weaken them to the extent of incapacitating them for work. Getting drunk is regarded as quite excusable and not particularly degrading. The worst among the women drink freely, but they are seldom seen tipsy. On the other hand, while a propensity for liquor does not seem to reduce their earning capacity or prevent employment, as a class they drink much more than they can afford. Extravagance in this direction does not necessarily make them applicants for relief, but tends to keep them poor, or at least poorer than they otherwise would be. Greater prosperity, however, does not appear to lead to an increased outlay for liquor; quite the contrary. The prosperous Negro farmer craves nothing better than the same nickel whiskey which he purchased at such sacrifice in his earlier days. Intemperance apparently grows less as the race advances. This is notably the case in districts that have profited most by the influence of such schools as those at Hampton and Tuskegee. Certain rural districts in Virginia furnish striking examples. Except as a "boot-legger" or "walking blind tiger," the country Negro is not likely to engage in liquor selling. He rarely has sufficient capital to buy a license, provided there is opportunity to get one; and it must be said that the more prosperous show little inclination for this occupation.

In the remote hill and mountain regions, where corn is the staple, the Negro not infrequently takes to moonshining on a small scale. It pays him better to turn the corn into liquor than to haul it to a distant market. He cannot understand why the government should interfere in so small a matter, and regards it

as unaccountable persecution. The abundance of raw corn whiskey doubtless leads to much drinking. Habitual inebriety is, however, disproportionately less than among the whites of the same districts. This is said with a full knowledge of the relatively small colored population in these places.

A darker picture meets one in the phosphate fields of Florida, the iron mines of Alabama, and the coal-pits of West Virginia, and other similar places where the roughest Negro element is employed. Living little better than animals, and in other ways not far removed from barbarism, it is natural that they indulge in drink as one of their vices. Unscrupulous bosses, especially in the coal-fields of West Virginia, pander to this vice by furnishing liquor from the company stores or in other ways on credit, deducting the amount thus spent from the wages. The wild orgies in mining camps, in which women also take part, or the revels in near-by towns, with their accompaniment of stabbing and shooting affrays, furnish many a paragraph to the sensational press. But even among these Negroes, — creatures largely of a miserable environment, — steady hard drinking is exceptional, and does not detract much from their ability as workmen.

Data relative to the liquor habits of the Negroes living in cities have been secured through special reports (supplemented in part by the investigations of the writer) from Richmond and Norfolk, in Virginia; Raleigh, Durham, and Charlotte, in North Carolina; Columbia and Charleston, in South Carolina; Atlanta and Savannah, in Georgia; Montgomery, in Alabama; Knoxville, in Tennessee; Vicksburg, in Mississippi;

Lexington, in Kentucky; Baton Rouge and New Orleans, in Louisiana; and San Antonio, in Texas; not to mention smaller places like Huntsville and Talladega, in Alabama, etc. One need not go further to find represented every phase of the Negroes' city life. However much conditions in San Antonio, for instance, may vary from those in Columbia, S. C., Negro life in all Southern centres has certain common characteristics which it is well to bear in mind. The mass of the colored live in comparative poverty. Not many are engaged in skilled labor. Cotton and other mills are largely closed against Negro labor. The further South one travels, the greater the reluctance against admitting them to the trades, and the greater the number engaged in unskilled occupations, of which domestic service in its various forms is one of the chief. It is almost a rule that a white household with colored servants must expect to feed and sometimes clothe more or less numerous relatives of the latter, albeit without directly consenting to do so. This fact, so commonly lamented in the South, enables no mean proportion of the Negroes, especially the males, to live in a state of semi-idleness. It must further be conceded that, on the whole, the cities have not attracted the most energetic and unspoiled Negroes, although of course the two extremes of the race meet there. Among the most advanced educators it has become almost a truism that the hope for the future of the Negro lies in keeping him on the soil and teaching him how to till it. Both as to vigor and virtue, Negro life seems to be at a lower ebb in the cities than in the country. In the former, therefore, one must

naturally look for a greater degree of intemperance; and relatively to the country districts, one finds it.

It is another question whether here drunkenness is proportionately so much of a besetting sin among the Negroes as among the whites. Inferences from superficial observations are likely to lead away from the truth. The frequency of Negro brawls in saloons and their vicinity on Saturday nights makes it seem obvious that back of all this disorder must be an inordinate amount of drinking; but we should not forget that intoxicants, only in part due to their inferior quality, affect the Negro differently from the white man. The former, though by nature an amiable and easy-going being, at an early stage of intoxication becomes impudent, abusive, and quarrelsome. So long as he is tolerated, which is not a great while, he lounges about in the saloon. Once upon the street, his hilarity and noisiness continue. When the average white man tries to find his way home, the Negro remains at large, and quickly lays himself open to arrest through some disorderly act. Improper conduct on his part is less tolerated than in a white man. Notwithstanding the statements, coming also from colored people, that in most cities there is little discrimination made between the two races in arresting persons for intoxication, the feeling "he is only a nigger" too often determines the action of the policeman. Nor is this altogether unreasonable, since being arrested means much less to the lower type of Negroes. Of course, they have no money to pay fines, and cannot depend on friends, yet they fear not so keenly the disgrace of the chain-gang. During the thirty days of servitude awaiting them for

a more aggravated offense, they probably get just as much and just as good food as they are accustomed to.

Notwithstanding the greater reason and probably also propensity for clearing the streets of drunken Negroes, it would be difficult to argue from any statistics of arrests for drunkenness that intemperance is relatively commoner among the Negroes than among the whites. On the contrary, a majority of the police records examined show that proportionately fewer colored persons are arrested for simple intoxication, although a disproportionate number of arrests for drunkenness and disorderly conduct may be marked against them. It is exceedingly rare to find any colored persons entered under the rubric "common drunkards." On this last point police statistics may for once be taken at their face value without qualifying explanations.

Much of the too free indulgence in liquors seems to have its origin in the Negro's innate love of show rather than in a strong desire for drink. With the weekly or monthly wages in his pocket, he dearly loves to court the admiration of his fellows by liberality in spending, and the bar is a convenient place at which to display his roll of bills. Treating is everywhere a source of much of the drunkenness. Naturally improvident, and with an ingrained aversion to prolonged hard toil, besides being underpaid, the average city Negro has little money to spend for drink. When that little goes to the saloon-keeper, it is not, as a rule, because of an uncontrollable craving for stimulants. Even the ragged and disreputable specimen who loafs about saloon entrances, ready to run errands or per-

form any odd job that will net him a few pennies for liquor, is very seldom an habitual drunkard. A liberal infusion of white blood, if not, as frequently happens, tending to make the Negro more ambitious and self-respecting, will, it is said, make him an easier victim to intemperance than the African of purer blood. But among no class of Negroes is intemperance a serious obstacle to securing employment.

If lack of means keeps the city Negro away from the front of the bar to some extent, it also in a measure prevents him from presiding behind it. Few Negroes keep saloons. Thus in Atlanta, Ga., there is only one kept by a Negro; in Raleigh, N. C., none; in San Antonio, Tex., four out of the seventy-five in the whole city; in Lexington, Ky., one; and so on. The greatest number of saloons, or rather dives, run by colored men was observed in Richmond. Inability to pay high license fees unquestionably keeps many from becoming liquor-sellers. Neither is the business very lucrative, for the patronage of the dark-skinned proprietor is almost wholly confined to persons of his own hue; and oftener than not these show a decided preference for the white man's saloon, although it usually provides separate bars for the two races. There is, moreover, a rooted objection to granting liquor licenses to Negroes, inasmuch as this would be equivalent to establishing colored centres of political activity. We are justified, however, in imputing lack of inclination for liquor selling among the more prosperous Negroes to laudable motives.

All investigators agree that intemperance is by no means one of the common vices of the colored women.

The lowest of the sex drink a great deal, and sometimes to intoxication. That the white women of the South drink even less is a familiar fact. With respect to the liquor habits of both sexes, the evidence is so harmonious on the general aspects of the question that the exceptions become unimportant. The largest cities, of course, present the greatest contrasts as well as the worst features. In New Orleans, for example, intemperance, according to the best information obtainable, has taken firmer root among the Negroes than in any of the smaller places.

We have so far confined our attention to the Negroes in the South. It remains to be learned whether their brethren in the North, who exclusively inhabit cities, sustain like relations to the drink problem. Conditions in Philadelphia,[1] with its 40,000 colored in a total population of over a million and a half, may be taken as fairly illustrative. There, too, the mass of the colored people are servants, laborers, porters, etc., but with an aristocracy of caterers, professional men, and small merchants. A large immigration from the South in the last 15 years has increased crime and poverty. In the seventh ward, where the Negroes centre, there are fifty-two saloons, but only two are kept by colored men, though the Negroes have free access to all. The habits of Negroes in this city in regard to intoxicants are undergoing a great and marked

[1] For the facts about Philadelphia the committee is indebted to W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, Ph. D., who especially through his researches in preparing the work, *The Philadelphia Negro: A Social Study*, has had unequaled opportunities for studying local conditions.

change. Formerly the slaves had license to get drunk at Christmas, and to steal a dram at other times. Drunkenness was confined to Christmas time, and was then widespread. Distilled liquors were generally used then. When, under the restrictions of a slave régime, amusements were permitted, much drinking resulted. On the other hand, this system kept the habit of drinking out of the homes and away from the meals. After emancipation these habits persisted, and drinking was confined to holidays and public social gatherings. At private amusements bottles were often brought and emptied *sub rosa*, seldom openly.

The Negro church, with its sweeping condemnation of amusements, made excesses at public gatherings its especial point of attack, and undoubtedly did much to discourage drinking among Negroes of the better class. Nevertheless, much drinking prevailed: bottles were carried to church and on excursions; and in the dance halls, which the church entirely surrendered to the devil, there continued to be more or less open drinking, but very seldom open sale.

Lately a reaction has set in, and a change of momentous importance; drinking among the masses of Negroes is changing from a public to a private custom; from a habit of the excursion, dance, and picnic to a habit of home life; from excessive periodic indulgence to a sparing regular partaking; from a use of strong distilled liquors to a use of beer. This change is distinctly noticeable in Philadelphia. The custom of beer drinking is increasing, but the amount of drunkenness does not correspondingly increase, and is perhaps actually decreasing. Excessive use and

secret indulgence in liquor is giving place to beer as a table drink or evening beverage, used without concealment of any kind. This change has not gone very far as yet, but it is perceptible, and growing among the great mass of working-class Negroes. At the same time, among the better classes and the upper class of working people, all use of liquor in public and in the homes is frowned upon, and is only thus used by older members of the family in secret. A secondary result of this change in drinking habits, which is also a result of the Philadelphia saloon system, is the increase of drinking in clubs and "speak-easies." This represents the transition stage between home indulgence and saloon drinking. It is peculiarly dangerous, as its ease and company is apt to lead to fixed habits and regular indulgence. Moreover, in Philadelphia it is almost always accompanied by gambling, and the conversation runs to women and crime.

The situation is without doubt better than formerly, but may result in substituting for the occasional excess of the minority a widespread habit of regular indulgence among the mass, and this in turn may in another generation lead to more dangerous excess. On the other hand, the development may lead from stronger to lighter drinks, and from public drunkenness to occasional conviviality, thus in the end lessening the danger from drink. At present there is room for congratulation on the improvement made over the past.

In his work, "The Philadelphia Negro," Dr. Du Bois tells of an attempt made in the winter of 1897 to count the frequenters of certain saloons in the seventh

ward of Philadelphia (the centre of Negro settlement) during the hours from eight to ten on a Saturday night. "It was impracticable to make this count in all of the saloons simultaneously, or to cover all of the fifty-two liquor-shops, but eight or ten were watched each night until data from twenty-six saloons in the part of the ward chiefly inhabited by colored people were obtained. The results form a rough measurement of the drinking habits of the ward. In the two hours the following count was made for twenty-six saloons: Persons entering the saloons, 3170. Negroes, 1586: male, 1373, female, 213. Whites, 1584: male, 1445, female, 139. The observers stationed near these saloons saw in all seventy-nine drunken persons, of whom a small majority were white."

In the part of the ward in which the count was made, the Negroes — and they are the least advanced of the race — outnumber the whites, although for the whole ward the former represent less than one half of the total population.

Probably not so many Negroes, proportionately, are arrested for drunkenness as whites. The police statistics make no distinction as to color. It is not found that a very large proportion of wages goes for drink, though the expenditure in this respect is considerable for a poor people. Treating is common, but not carried to great excess. Dr. Du Bois says, "I have not found drunkenness among Negroes ever mentioned as a cause of their losing employment in this city."

On the whole, there are indications that the Northern Negro indulges more regularly in alcoholic drinks, especially those of a lighter kind, than his fellows in

the South, but not that he is generally more intemperate.

The survey just completed tends to establish three important facts: (1) That comparatively few Negroes are habitual drunkards, (2) that intemperance is only accountable for a small part of the Negro's backward condition, his poverty and anti-social conduct, and (3) that but in exceptional cases is inebriety a barrier to his steady employment. Evidence of an alarming increase in drunkenness is wholly wanting, but both as to country and city Negroes it is generally observed that the drink habit has the firmest hold on the younger members of the race. On this last point Mr. F. L. Hoffman remarks, "Personally I have observed very little intemperance among the older colored people, but have met with many cases among the young men of the present generation." (Race Traits and Tendencies of the American Negro, p. 125.)

Since so many of our statements rest on the testimony of colored men, in whom a desire to put the matter most favorably would be both natural and excusable, it is interesting to see how far it agrees with the views of white men of the South. We reproduce below, in tabular form, the replies to a circular letter received from ninety-six white Southerners, nearly all of whom are men of local and some of national prominence in different walks of life. All the Southern States and about eighty-five localities, for the greater part cities and towns, are represented. A majority of the correspondents have amplified the yes and no answers, giving reasons for their replies, or showing that they had consulted others, for instance, police officials,

judges, large employers of colored help, etc., on the different points raised. A spirit of kindly interest in the Negro's welfare breathes through most of the replies. The few coming from unreconstructed Southerners, who see nothing but a menace in the presence of a free colored people, are decidedly the least favorable.

Questions	Yes	No	Not answered
1. Are habitual drunkards proportionately as numerous among the Negroes as among the whites?	13	83	
2. Is drunkenness a common vice among Negro women?	10	86	
3. Do the Negroes commonly use liquor to excess in their homes or at social gatherings?	19	77	
4. Do they habitually buy liquor on credit?	5	91	
5. Do you regard the liquor habit as a chief cause of their shiftlessness and consequent impoverished condition?	2	94	
6. or as an important cause?	21	75	
7. Do you regard the liquor habit as a chief cause of disorderly and immoral conduct among them?	5	91	
8. or as an important cause?	42	54	
9. Is it your experience that the liquor habit seriously impairs the efficiency of the Negro as an employee?	14	82	
10. Is intemperance, in your judgment, increasing among the Negroes?	23	70	3
11. Do you observe that any special efforts are being made to promote sobriety among the Negroes, for instance, by organizing abstinence societies, providing coffee houses or other substitutes for the saloon, etc?	6	90	

If the above replies, since unfortified by facts and figures, may not be regarded as much more than expressions of opinion, they are at least remarkable as showing substantially the same drift of opinion. Some of our correspondents have stated their views

much more emphatically than the simple yes or no answers would imply. Thus, an archdeacon of the Episcopal Church (white) in a well-known Southern city, who can truly say of himself, "I am able to claim a pretty thorough knowledge of the Negro, as my whole life has been passed side by side with him, first on 'de ole plantashun,' and now for many years as a missionary to do him good," remarks among other things: —

"I have known in all my life but two or three habitual drunkards among the Negroes. I have known so few drinking women that I cannot now recall a definite instance." He does not disguise the fact, however, that Negroes frequently get drunk, but adds, "there it, as a rule, ends for the time."

The replies to questions 5, 6, 7, and 8 must be read with some qualifications. Shiftlessness is by all held to be an inborn Negro trait, for which intemperance is in no way responsible; it is characteristic of the abstemious as well as of the inebriate black, a part of his inheritance. The two affirmative answers to question 5 only indicate that drink is regarded as a chief cause of poverty, not of shiftlessness. So, too, the twenty-three affirmative replies to question 6, which apply exclusively to Negroes in populous centres, do not touch on the matter of shiftlessness, or "thriftlessness," as some prefer to call it; and the sense of them is that the average Negro would remain poor regardless of his drink habits, but that the squandering of a large part of his earnings for liquor makes him still poorer.

Further, all agree in denying any direct relationship between the Negro's immorality, in the meaning of

sexual vice, and his drink habits, although a few have observed that the use of intoxicants seems to stimulate his passion. The affirmative replies to questions 7 and 8 relate, therefore, wholly to the kind of disorderly conduct that in police records is usually coupled with drunkenness, such as turbulence, quarrels, and fights. Outbreaks of this order are, however, commonly the fruits of an ungovernable temper, to which the Negro is a greater slave than ordinarily supposed. "We find," says Mr. Bruce, "that the greater number of brawls . . . have their incentive in the vehement passions aroused by heated disputes as to the proprietorship in women."[1] Nevertheless, disorderly conduct is probably to a larger extent than the replies indicate the product of intoxication.

Nearly all our correspondents who affirm that the liquor habit seriously impairs the efficiency of the Negro as an employee explain that they have reference to the few habitually intemperate individuals coming under their observation. That the black toper must be on a par with the white toper as to efficiency and reliability is a somewhat self-evident proposition. But since the confirmed colored drunkards are so scarce, and the occasional drinkers, as all admit, recover with singular rapidity from the effects of a debauch, there is no ground left for the belief that employment is often withheld from Negroes on account of their intemperance. The case may, of course, assume a new aspect when they can everywhere aspire to something better than the lowliest toil. But there is another side to our question. Instead of being an

[1] Philip A. Bruce, *The Plantation Negro as a Freeman*, p. 81.

active cause of non-employment, the liquor habit may spring from, or be fostered through, lack of occupation and enforced idleness. The labor war on racial lines now waging in the South, and in which the Negro is so far the under dog, does not encourage him to abstinence or any other virtues. "How can we keep our young men from loafing in the bar-rooms," laments one of the leaders of the colored people, "so long as the mills, stores, shops, factories, and public works are closed against them? I see man after man drawn to the liquor and gambling habits through enforced idleness which invites to these vices." The temptations engendered by idleness beset the Negro with peculiar force, because the social side of his nature is so abnormally developed. This note of despair is echoed from many industrial centres. But the color line is not so tightly drawn in all places, and some of these complaints are but poorly concealed attempts to shift the responsibility to other shoulders.

In the chapter on Poverty, we found intemperance to be the direct cause of want in 9.15 per cent. and the indirect cause in 5.09 per cent. of 2830 cases of colored people, as against 19.43 and 9.18 per cent., respectively, of the 27,093 cases of white men and women investigated. The returns yielding percentages so remarkably favorable to the Negroes are mainly representative of their conditions in the North. Even where admittedly most prevalent, the liquor habit is thus only responsible for a small percentage of the Negro's poverty, and in the South this percentage would probably be found much smaller. An instance in point may be related. During a period of great dis-

tress, a few winters ago, the writer was invited by the mayor of a Southern city of about 25,000 inhabitants, more than half of whom are colored, to be present at his examination of applicants for public relief. Motley throngs of from seventy-five to one hundred persons, all colored, appeared before his honor on several mornings in succession. The questioning was rigid enough with reference to the liquor habit. So few were held to be addicted to it, even in the milder forms, that the writer was constrained to ask if, then, hardly any of the distress could be attributed to intemperance. "Not six in one hundred are in want because they drink," was the reply. Other officials corroborated this statement; and a rough investigation of about three hundred cases on subsequent mornings proved it correct.

As intimated in the chapter on Crime, the available statistics regarding colored convicts are not sufficiently comprehensive to warrant any general conclusions about the relation of their criminality to drink. Petty larceny, which is almost a Negro habit among the ignorant classes, is perhaps as often instigated by poverty as by drink, if it can be attributed to any one cause. The same is largely true of other crimes against property. Of the more violent offenses against the person, assaults and murders are known to be committed by many in consequence of a drunken frenzy. This is, however, not true of rape, much less of the commoner forms of immorality.

In the medical world it has long been held that alcoholism or delirium tremens, mortality from alcoholic diseases, and dipsomania occur less frequently

among the blacks than among the whites. Dr. Billings, in his census reports, gives statistics showing the comparatively low death rate from alcoholism among Negroes. Commenting upon them, Mr. Hoffman says: "While it is probable that the Negro indulges in liquor to a considerable extent, there is no doubt that he suffers less in consequence, and this may account for the low mortality rate from this cause" (alcoholism). He also points out the comparative absence among Negroes of liver diseases due to an inordinate consumption of spirits.

Dr. Kerr, than whom perhaps no one has given the subject closer study, speaks of the Negroes as "less liable to the diseased conditions I have designated as narcomania, intoxicate mania, or inebriety." (Inebriety, or Narcomania, by Norman S. Kerr, M. D., p. 131.)

Dr. J. W. Babcock, for many years physician and superintendent of the South Carolina Lunatic Asylum, holds that among the Negroes insanity due to dipsomania is "still comparatively rare." (Address before the National Conference of Corrections and Charities, 1895.)

Medical records kept during the civil war indicated that Negro soldiers were much less frequently victims of alcoholic excesses than the white. Through the courtesy of James R. Smith, Colonel and Assistant Surgeon General, U. S. A., who for some years has studied the question as between white and colored soldiers, we are able to give some statistics of recent date. They are from official reports made by him while medi-

cal director of the military departments mentioned, and are presented in two tables.

NUMBER OF CASES OF WHITE AND COLORED SOLDIERS, RESPECTIVELY, ADMITTED TO SICK REPORT FOR INEBRIATION, ALCOHOLISM, OR DELIRIUM TREMENS, PER THOUSAND OF CASES ADMITTED TO SICK REPORT FOR ALL CAUSES.

	Year	Of colored soldiers	Of white soldiers
In Military Department of			
Texas	1880	4	42
Texas	1881	*	38
Texas	1882	0	64
Texas	1883	7	58
Texas	1884	2	63
Texas	1885	*	12
Dakota	1888	2	38
Arizona	1889	2	34
Arizona	1890	3	64
Arizona	1891	5	44
East	1894	16	30

THE SAME PER MEAN STRENGTH, SHOWING RELATIVE NUMBER OF MEN DISABLED FOR DUTY BY ALCOHOL, AND ALL OTHER CAUSES.

	Years	Of colored soldiers	Of white soldiers
In Military Department of			
Texas	1880	7	76
Texas	1881	*	74
Texas	1882	0	117
Texas	1883	1	107
Texas	1884	4	86
Texas	1885	*	85
Dakota	1888	2	44
Arizona	1889	4	33

* The figures are not given, but the statement is made that the proportion was small.

In commenting upon these tables, Colonel Smith says that both show "less disability among the blacks caused by alcohol; and that the blacks are less addicted to drink. The tables do not, however, exhaust the subject, for many a drink was taken which was not followed by sickness or inability to perform duty, and many cases really due to drink do not so appear, as injury of a drunken man from a fall, or the results of quarrels induced by drink."

Of aggressive temperance work there is hardly any among the Southern negroes. What little is done to promote sobriety is done by the preachers, who rarely institute vigorous temperance crusades. Prudence forbids them to attack the white man's saloon too directly. The attempts to form total abstinence societies and branches of the W. C. T. U. have not been conspicuously successful. It is very doubtful, also, if the signing of pledges and other devices adopted by the churches prove effective. In the conception of the average uneducated Negro, morality is a thing quite apart from religion. He may be said to live two lives, — a religious and an every-day life. The former is largely a life of emotion and excitement, and not of principle. Preaching abstinence is therefore not likely to lead to extensive practice. Local prohibition in the South has frequently been carried by Negro votes won over by the frenzied appeals of agitators; but through promises of more substantial rewards for the same Negro votes, prohibition has sometimes been defeated.

The better educated Negroes of the North particularly have taken up a more general and systematic tem-

perance work, but as yet it has not assumed a very practical turn. Perhaps the race as a whole is not quite ripe for such efforts. At the present time it is certainly burdened by weightier problems pressing for solution than the problem of intemperance.

CHAPTER VII.

THE RELATIONS OF THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS TO THE LIQUOR PROBLEM.

For more than two centuries and a half, legislative powers in this country have been invoked to prevent the Indians from obtaining the white man's fire-water. At the very inception of the weary struggle with the Indian problem which still continues, the colonists of the New World saw that a first precautionary measure to be taken was to forbid the sale of intoxicants to the savages; public safety demanded such a step. The Massachusetts Bay Colony legislated accordingly, in 1657, the other New England colonies following her example in turn. Not long afterwards the New York Colony and its dependencies took action to the same effect, but with a curious exception: By way of charity, the quantity of two drams of strong water might be sold or given to an Indian "in case of sudden sickness, faintness, or weariness." Further, the earliest liquor legislation of the settlements in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and both the Carolinas, whatever may have been its shortcomings, provided penalties for supplying liquor to the natives. On the other hand, the "disorderly little republics," as the first small settlements in New Hampshire have been called, for a long time, when not fighting the Indians, drove a brisk rum

trade with them, and did not at first, even in the liquor laws adopted by them as a united colony, prohibit the traffic. Maryland followed a similar policy, for no attempt was made by the colony to regulate the drink traffic for more than one hundred years; and when in 1715 it became unlawful to carry liquor into an Indian village, it still remained permissible to provide a savage with rum to the extent of one gallon, if sold and delivered to him outside his village.

The ancient status of the Indian problem with respect to the question of liquor selling is interesting because it has remained essentially unchanged down to the present day. For when the colonies grew into sovereign States, the legislatures, whether reënacting old liquor statutes or bent on trying new departures, rarely neglected to prohibit absolutely the sale of intoxicants to the red people. And as the pioneers made their way into the wilderness, their first thought in grappling with the drink question seems to have been to make it hard for an Indian to get drunk, and to punish severely those who were guilty of selling him liquor. So long as Indians lived within the borders of a State as tribes, the laws with few exceptions continued to say, and in many States still say, that no intoxicants must be given or sold them. When the Federal government assumed guardianship over the conquered race, it adopted the policy from which it has never deviated, of forbidding without any reservation drink selling in any form to its wards.

The primary reason for this singular unanimity in the legislation affecting the Indian's relation to drink, so lacking when other phases of the Indian problem

were dealt with, is not far to seek. The instinct of self-preservation dictated that the rum or whiskey bottle should be kept out of the Indian's reach. One of the first lessons learned by the settlers was that a drunken Indian is a dangerous Indian even to his friends and family. Underlying all the prohibitive legislation referred to is the universal experience in this country that to permit free indulgence in alcoholic drink is certain to cause riotous outbreaks and crime among the Indians. That the law-makers have largely been actuated by humanitarian motives is contradicted by the whole history of the treatment of the race.

The propensity of the Indians for intoxicating beverages is in some respects a singular phenomenon. Long before love of liquor could possibly have become an inherited weakness, the Indian was strongly attracted to the bottle; in fact, as soon as he learned to know about the effects of alcohol. This has been observed on the frontier since the days of the Pilgrims, though until late years it has only been in few places and under exceptional circumstances that the red men have had abundant opportunity of becoming topers. So recently as some thirty years ago there were few if any Indians upon reservations. Their intercourse with the whites was practically limited to the occasions of trading; and trade at that time consisted in a barter for hides and furs, open to all. In going out with their goods in wagons or on pack animals, the traders invariably took along a five or ten gallon keg of whiskey, which upon arrival in camp was deposited in the tepee of the head man of the party, not to be touched until the trade was completed. As the packs to return

were much more numerous than those brought out, the traders needed extra horses, and these were paid for in whiskey. When a sufficient number of animals had been secured, they were loaded and sent off, the head trader remaining in camp until his party had a long start. Then he would bring out the whiskey keg, knock in the head, mount his horse, and put as much distance between himself and the Indians as possible, for it often happened that the party would be pursued by the latter, and if overtaken they were sure to be stripped of all their possessions, if indeed nothing worse happened. Getting drink under such circumstances — and this was the common way before the present reservation system was inaugurated — could hardly result in creating a liquor habit. The occasions for drinking were few and far between, and in the long intervals the taste of whiskey only lingered as a memory.

The Indian's desire for intoxicants can thus not be attributed to an inherited craving. Neither does he seem to have a love for strong drink because of the sociability connected with the use of it, or because it tickles his palate. It is perhaps nearer the truth to find the origin of the desire in his peculiar temperament. However much the Indian through long training and habit may conceal the fact, he is by nature an emotional and nervous being. In his natural state he spends life in the excitement of the chase or in war, both of which occupations he pursues until mentally and physically exhausted. During the repose that follows, he recounts the deeds performed; and lacking the resources of the white man, he resorts to anything that will help to pass the hours of idleness. In his

natural state he takes to the dance, in which he recalls the feats of the chase and the war path, gradually working himself into a state of frenzy resembling that produced by intoxication, and at last falls into a stupor like that caused by liquor.

As civilization hems him in on all sides, depriving him of the customary excitements of life without offering substitutes, and at the same time puts within easier reach the whiskey bottle with its power first to stimulate his imagination, and then throw him into a stupor in which he for the moment forgets his grievances and wrongs, it is small wonder that he will part with his most cherished possessions to secure what seems to him so great a boon.

The Indian, then, as a rule, drinks solely for the effects produced by liquor. When he can get it, he takes one drink after another as fast as he can swallow, until powerless longer to do so. As intoxication comes on, he grows quarrelsome, is ready to fight his companions, beat his wife, scare his children, destroy his possessions, and ride his pony nearly to death, if indeed he does not commit more violent acts. Indians of many tribes well recognize the fearful effects liquor has upon them, and in a party assembled for a spree, not all will get drunk at the same time, but enough remain sober to prevent the drunken ones from injuring themselves or fellows, tying their hands and feet when the frenzy rises to unsafe heights. Preparations for a drunken orgie are made with as much care as for any other solemn function. If the party is small, the bottle is passed from hand to hand; if large, the whiskey is poured into a pan or other vessel, dipped

up, and handed around by those who are to remain sober. The idea of social pleasure in drinking is entirely absent from the Indian mind; he indulges because he wants to get drunk.

It has been said by a close student of the subject, that "an Indian can no more resist the temptation to drink than a two-year old child can help taking a lump of sugar if it is within its reach." This strong assertion is only too fully supported by the testimony of experienced Indian agents and educators. Referring to Indians of the Northwest, Blackfeet, Crows, Gros Ventres, Assiniboines, Flatheads, Nez-Percé, and Pend d'Oreilles, whom he has known intimately for forty years, Major George Steell, until recently in charge of the Blackfeet Agency in Montana, writes: —

"Were the vigilance of the agents relaxed, it would only be a short time until it (intemperance) would become almost a universal vice among all the tribes with which I am acquainted. . . . I see practically no difference between them; all would become drunkards if it were possible for them to obtain whiskey in unlimited quantities."

Other agents write in the same strain. "No people," says Dr. Daniel Dorchester, "are so quickly and fatally demoralized by liquor as Indians." (Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1890, p. 252.)

When once in a while a tribe is described as being free from the drink habit, it is usually found to be small and exceptionally fortunate as to its surroundings. The few remaining Sac and Fox Indians at Tama, Iowa, for instance, are said to get very little liquor. "The older chiefs testify readily against any

one who sells or gives intoxicants to their young men; and public sentiment is so strong against the liquor traffic in this neighborhood that conviction and punishment follow, usually with such celerity as to terrify the lower class of dram-sellers into obeying the law." (14th Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the Indian Rights Association, p. 35.)

As another exception to the rule may be mentioned the Klamath and Umatilla tribes in Oregon, in which are said to be a number of temperance people and proportionately not a few who "claim to be strict prohibitionists." But on the whole the tribes seem to be very much on the same level in their inability to resist the temptation to drink, the only observable difference springing from opportunity or lack of opportunity to get drunk. For example, one part of the Mohave tribe (Arizona) living on the reservation has repeatedly been commended for its sobriety; and it has little chance to get liquor. But another part of the Mohaves domiciled near a trading-post, where whiskey is plentiful, is said to be very intemperate.

In some of the tribes, however, a marked difference in the mode of indulgence in drink is observable. Among the mountain Indians of the Southwest are some who, living far from towns and seldom visited by white traders, prepare their own liquor and periodically gather for a spree. At such times old feuds are often revived and murders committed during the drunken frenzy. "When the members, scattered by their own fury, recover from the barbarous debauch," writes Captain William H. Beck, U. S. A., "they one by one or in couples steal to their tepees from the hills

in which they have hidden, as if realizing the danger they were in from their bloody carousal; and the quiet which succeeds gives no token of the riot of the night. But the hush is only until the next 'moon,' or until some old woman of the tribe announces that another 'tiz-win' still is ready. These 'reunions' are held so far as possible away from the notice of the whites and of the officers in charge, so as to avoid the destruction, if discovered, of the implements for making the liquor."

The home manufacture of liquor does not seem to be engaged in anywhere on an extensive scale. The use of "tiz-win" or "tool-pi" is said to be decreasing, and is restricted to the Southwest. Another liquor known as "Choctaw beer" and made from barley, hops, tobacco, fish-berries, and a little alcohol, has at times been manufactured without stint, especially in the mining districts of the Choctaw nation, although the nation has legislated against it. Women make and sell the concoction. The white man's product is universally preferred, whether it be genuine whiskey, Jamaica ginger, or any vile compound that will produce intoxication. The Indians of the Northwest have apparently never learned the art of distilling.

The pictures drawn of the effects of drink on the Indians, by those who are set to guard them on behalf of the nation, are dark and often sad in the extreme. In nearly every annual report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs the subject receives some mention. "One of the most difficult things to contend with in the administration of Indian affairs," said former Commissioner T. J. Morgan, "is the vice of intemperance,

under any circumstance an evil, but particularly so on an Indian reservation." (Annual Report, 1890, p. 54.) No one feels the weight of this truth more than the conscientious Indian agents, and they state it in various forms with much emphasis and wealth of detail in their annual reports to the commissioner. A careful compilation of all these reports for the years 1890 to 1897 — and they come from each of the fifty-seven agencies — reveals as the consensus of the opinions of the agents that intemperance is, (1) one of the greatest obstacles to the progress and civilization of the Indians; (2) the cause of nearly all the murders occurring on the reservations, as well as of most of the other crimes and disorders; (3) the cause of widespread degradation of the women; and (4) largely the cause of poverty and illness. Nearly all the offenses, or a majority of them, dealt with by the Indian police and courts, are more or less directly connected with intemperance and whiskey selling. In short, life on the reservation would be one of peace, quiet, and perhaps to some extent of industry but for the drink trouble.

It is needless to recite in detail the gruesome crimes and misery worked by alcohol, as recounted in different reports year by year. Enough to say that they come from reservations remotest from civilization, but also from those in the midst of what ought to be ennobling influences. Conditions are, however, far from being equally bad everywhere. There are Indians who, as former Commissioner Morgan says, "are distinguished for sobriety." But where the reservations are freest from drunkenness, what trouble they have is largely due to intemperance, and in this respect the

goodness or badness of the tribes seems to be unrelated to the degree of advancement attained, and to depend generally upon the facility for getting liquor. So also the decrease or increase in drunkenness noted by government agents from time to time appears to be contingent simply upon their success or non-success in enforcing the law against selling to the Indians.

"As a general proposition," writes Colonel H. B. Freeman, U. S. A., for some time Acting Indian Agent at the Osage Agency, Oklahoma, "I think it may safely be assumed that among the Indians the liquor habit increases with the ability to buy and their closer contact with the whites." It is a severe indictment against the dominant race that some of the loudest complaints about drunkenness among the Indians issue from reservations surrounded as one would think by superior influences, for instance, reservations in the States of New York and Wisconsin. The few scattered tribes which are not under the restraining hand of agents and their subordinates are said to give least hope of escaping from the drink curse. They fall an easy prey to the wiles of the white saloon-keeper.

The immediate physical effects of alcohol on the Indian are probably much like those observed in the white drinker, yet with a difference. An Indian, it is held, cannot drink the kind of whiskey some white men consume and live. His body weakens much more rapidly, and he sooner becomes unable to perform any labor requiring muscular strength. His health quickly breaks down, for he lacks the recuperative power of the white man, as well as what ministers to it, sanitation, properly prepared food, etc. The

death rate due to alcoholism in some form is taken to be abnormally high in the most intemperate tribes. The Indians themselves are well aware of the havoc liquor is working, the Osages, among others, attributing their diminution in numbers to this cause.

"No depths of immorality are too low for a drunken Indian," writes Major Steell. One of the results noted of a persistent use of intoxicants is the growing unchastity of Indian women, permitted now in many tribes instead of being terribly punished as formerly: to this extent have their sensibilities become blunted. In the old days when polygamy still flourished, the chief exercised a control which prevented gross immorality, from their point of view. At that time also the Indian avoided publicity in drinking, for he would often be soundly beaten for any lapse from sobriety. Now the women go unpunished for fouler living traceable directly to the liquor habit. White men frequently regard the Indian woman as lawful prey, and supply her with whiskey more easily to accomplish their ends. Girls who have scarcely reached maturity are counted among their victims.

Opinions are divided on the question whether the old and middle-aged Indians are more addicted to drink than the younger men, and whether, in consequence, there is greater or less likelihood that in the future the liquor habit will prove a barrier to their progress and eventual civilization. This much seems certain, that as yet not even the educated Indians, pupils of the great schools, have a moral fibre strong enough to withstand the temptations of temporary pleasures if left to their own devices; heredity still makes them easy victims of

the idea of the moment. Without a strong hand to hold them back, even the better of these are likely to fall into the ways of the drunkard. In a letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, written in 1896, Mr. George Cotton, a well-known citizen of Pawnee, Oklahoma, uses these words in reference to the exemption from the liquor laws of the United States of Indians who have acquired citizenship as allottees: —

"The young men just home from school, whose education has cost the government several hundred dollars, are removed by this cause from a position where they would be a great factor in the exaltation of their race, to a place where they are a menace to all efforts in the direction of advancement."

It is a mistake to suppose that the Indian does not realize the folly of intemperance. When sober he will repent getting drunk, but at the next opportunity will repeat his excess, and when sober again will repeat the repentance. "I have had chiefs in council implore me," says Mr. George Bird Grinnell, "to induce the Great Father to arrange matters so that they and their people could not get whiskey. 'Then,' they would say, 'our women and children can sleep in peace and our horses will have rest.'"

Indian agents repeatedly state it as their solemn conviction that with the liquor question out of the way, there will be little left of the Indian problem so far as their work is concerned. This is but another way of putting the proposition, "the greatest obstacle confronting the government of the United States, and the churches that are trying to civilize and christianize the Indian, is the liquor traffic." Why, then, has so little

headway been made in removing this obstacle which remains a perpetual stumbling-block, though by no means the only one? A consideration of the character of the influences to which the Indians are exposed, the policy of the government in administering Indian affairs, the inadequacy of the laws restricting the liquor traffic prior to 1897, and the difficulties of enforcing them, will furnish us the answer.

We are not for a moment oblivious of the brighter side of the question, — the noble devotion, often amid great perils, and constant self-sacrifice of many men and women who have given their lives to missionary work among the Indians, and the ceaseless efforts of schools and churches to bring light to many tribes. Their stories tell of progress and great good accomplished. Neither have we forgotten the constant and intelligent services of the Indian Rights Association and numerous similar bodies, which in the face of every discouragement have labored persistently to make the government do its whole duty. In short, the united endeavors to help the Indians go far to offset the severe indictment against the dominant race in the treatment of its wards. Indeed, without such efforts our recital would be much drearier than it is. But these considerations do not alter the facts already stated or those that follow.

It remains true that civilization has always turned its roughest side toward the Indian. When not driven by force of arms from his rightful domain, and plundered of his possessions without government interference, he has by example and invitation had a better chance to copy the white man's vices than his virtues.

Not only have the representatives of the superior race with whom he has come in closest contact failed to elevate him, but they have striven to work his utter ruin. Descendants of those early colonists, who plied their dusky neighbors with rum for the sake of gain, have been found in every generation. They have dogged the footsteps of the Indian as he was pushed farther into the wilds; and now that the frontier is disappearing, and the tribes confined to ever-diminishing reservations, they beset him with greater avarice and in increasing numbers. Nearly every reservation, when not encircled by white settlements, has somewhere straggling towns fastened like leeches upon its borders in which dwell the divekeeper, the "boot-legger," and the "go-between," in short, men who make it their business to sell liquor to the Indians, and whose greed makes them stop at nothing. "Intoxicating liquors are supplied to and almost forced upon the Indians by avaricious white men," says former Commissioner Morgan. Even some of the remotest barrens on which the Indians have been told to make a home are at seasons infested by tramps and "tinhorn" gamblers who take up the rôle of itinerant whiskey venders. In the wake of boomers, land-grabbers, and herders crowding into the Indian country invariably follow the dram-selling fraternity in increasing numbers. But whether it be in the Empire State or in far-off Arizona, the burden of the Indian agent's complaint is the same: The avarice of the white liquor-dealer causes the trouble. Small wonder that in his indignation he applies to them such terms as "dirty white scrubs," "thieves and robbers," etc., for they do not hesitate to take the red

man's horses, saddles, blankets, and farming tools, leaving him nothing but the memory of debauch.

The underhand methods to which the drink-sellers at times resort remind one vividly of the doings of their brethren in prohibition States. Here are some samples: "A saloon is on the beach so high it is easy to go under it. A small hole is in the floor, under the counter. A hand comes up with money in it, and after dark a bottle goes down, and some Indians are drunk, but nobody can prove anything wrong. An Indian takes a basket of clams into a saloon and asks the saloon-keeper if he wants them. 'I will see what my wife says,' is the reply, as the basket is carried into the back room. Soon the saloon-keeper comes back and says: 'Take your old clams; they are rotten.' The Indian takes them, and by and by a company of Indians is 'gloriously drunk.' These are some of the ways that are dark." (Dr. Daniel Dorchester, Report, 1893.)

Even the Chinamen on the west coast have discovered the weakness of the Indians and prey upon it. Agent Brewster tells of Chinese in Nevada who "for several years had been selling liquor and opium to the Indians, and had no other means of support." In consequence he finds the Indians at Hawthorne, Nev., to be "totally demoralized." (Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1897, pp. 57, 58.) The crafty half-breed or quarter-breed is frequently employed by the dram-seller as a go-between in his transactions with Indians, when there is danger in selling openly. Too often the sentiment of the whites is with the liquor-dealers. It is sometimes carried to such an extent that

men are "licensed with the full knowledge that they can only live by selling to the Indians." (Report of Uintah Agency, Utah, 1894.) As another example, it may be cited that in prohibition North Dakota the county and town officials are charged with "encouraging" the sale of liquor to Indians and "throwing obstacles in the way of the agent in his efforts to secure evidence" against the law breakers. (Report from Standing Rock Agency, North Dakota, 1897.) Express companies of national repute and other common carriers have actively facilitated the introduction of intoxicants in the Indian Territory under guise of legal authority derived from some temporary court decision, and have for a time succeeded in flooding Indian reservations with drink.

We need not dwell in particular on all the causes that combine to inspire the whites with contempt if not hatred toward their Indian neighbors, partly revealed in the indifference to the enforcement of the statutes against liquor selling. But it is patent that the policy pursued by the government in the administration of Indian affairs must have had the effect of fostering the unkindly feelings of the whites. The Indian Conference held at Lake Mohonk, N. Y., October 12–14, 1898, in what must be regarded as its platform, speaks of the Indian service in the following words: —

"The schools, the clerks in the bureau at Washington, and the agency physicians have been brought under the Civil Service Law, but with these exceptions the Indian Bureau remains a political machine, subject to change in all its personnel at every Presidential

election. By both Democratic and Republican administrations men have been put at the head of the Indian Bureau who are neither familiar with Indian affairs nor acquainted with methods of education. In more than one instance drunken officials have been appointed in the reservations, and well-authenticated complaints have failed to secure their removal, or have resulted only in transfer to another field with increased salary. . . . These evils have shown themselves when the appointments have been left with the Indian Commissioner, when they have been reserved by the Secretary of the Interior to himself, and when they have been left to local politicians. Some excellent officials have been appointed, and some excellent work has been done, but this is not because, but in spite, of the system."

It has been said by the highest official in the service that there "are still in the Indian service men whose intemperance is a great hindrance to their usefulness." Agents, inspectors, educators, other subordinates, and, not least, licensed traders have been at fault in this respect. But however capable and anxious to do his duty the agent may be, his efforts to suppress liquor selling on the reservation may be frustrated by the action of another set of United States officials. We refer to the deputy marshals, whose business it is to hunt down whiskey-sellers and have them punished. Henchmen of local politicians, as most of these deputy marshals are, and appointed because of this, and not on account of merit, they are frequently not to be trusted with so plain a duty as that of arresting a "boot-legger."

So long as the Indian service, and other branches of government that become affiliated with its work, are prostituted by politicians, the best devised law against selling liquor to Indians may be of no avail. But the only law whose effectiveness has been thoroughly tested has for years failed of its purpose. The wording of the most important section of this law follows: —

"No ardent spirits, ale, beer, wine, or intoxicating liquor or liquors of whatever kind, shall be introduced under any pretense into the Indian country. Any person who exchanges, sells, gives, barters, or disposes of any ardent spirits, ale, beer, wine, or intoxicating liquors of any kind to any Indian in charge of any superintendent or agent, or introduces or attempts to introduce any ardent spirits, ale, beer, wine, or intoxicating liquor into the Indian country, shall be punished by imprisonment for not more than two years, or by a fine of not more than $300 for each offense." This is section 2139, United States Revised Statutes, as amended by the act of July 23, 1892 (27 Stats. 260). In its unamended form, the law only specified under the prohibited articles "ardent spirits" and "spirituous liquor or wine."

Ample and explicit powers of search and seizure are conferred upon employees of the Indian Bureau by another section of the statutes. The law has not at any time been generally enforced, neither, as a rule, have the sentences been heavy enough to deter offenders from renewing the nefarious traffic at the first opportunity. In justice to the Indian agents, it must be admitted that, under a confessedly inadequate law, some of them have succeeded beyond expectation in

suppressing the sale of liquor on the reservations under their charge. They have been men of exceptional ability, however, many of them noted army officers, but they have labored under great disadvantages.

It is proverbially difficult to get convincing proof of guilt in liquor cases, particularly in the Indian country. Generally speaking, the whites sympathize with the dram-sellers and are reluctant to testify against their neighbors and political friends. Moreover, the sale of drink is often a transaction between the dealer and the Indians, unwitnessed by other whites, so that the testimony of the Indians becomes a chief reliance in whiskey cases. But the Indian is an unsatisfactory witness. It is difficult to find him, and when found he may refuse to testify; and if he testifies, the probability is that he will not be believed. The whites frequently refuse to believe him under oath; and at least one court has held that it takes more than the evidence of one Indian to convict a man of illegal selling. Downright fear may keep the Indian from appearing in court. That he has too good reason to dread the vengeance of the white man who may be convicted on his evidence, the following incident will show: At Reno, Nev., the testimony of a Wadsworth Indian resulted in the conviction and sentence of three white men. As a punishment for testifying, and in order to intimidate other Indians and prevent them from appearing against other whiskey-dealers in similar trials in the future, the friends of the man convicted on this Indian's testimony killed him by administering poison.

The prejudice against Indian testimony is not always

unreasonable, for some red men, having caught the trick from whites, are professional witnesses. They will send one of their company to buy liquor, lying in wait to secure evidence of the transaction, and then swear out a complaint, — all for the sake of getting the mileage and fees, upon the proceeds of which they probably get drunk. Such blackmailing schemes are not of Indian invention. On the contrary, there is the strongest ground for believing that they have taken United States deputy marshals as exemplars. Not only do some of these men "execute the law in one way for the Indian and in another for the white man" throughout the Indian Territory, as Mr. Francis E. Aeupp has strikingly shown (14th Annual Report of the Indian Rights Association, 1897, pp. 65, 66), but they have been found guilty of far baser acts.

In the last report from the Osage Agency this incident is related: An Indian having bought some whiskey was soon after stopped by a deputy marshal and companion, who seized the liquor. Subsequently the Indian was told that he might have the whiskey by paying ten dollars for it. This he did, but only to be arrested a little later by the very man who had first seized and then sold the whiskey to him, on the charge of "introducing liquor," and later convicted and sentenced to severe penalties. In commenting upon this affair, the agent, who secured the release of the same Indian, says he has been reliably informed that "it has been the practice of the deputy marshals to hunt up these whiskey cases against Indians to make easy fees. . . . Although it cannot be proved, it is undoubtedly true, in a great many instances, that the man who

sells the whiskey notifies the deputy, who immediately goes after the Indian, it being an easy way to make fees." Numerous complaints of a similar nature have been made against deputy marshals.

Another obstacle to the enforcement of the law is the amount of red tape to be unwound before a liquor case comes to trial. Mr. Grinnell describes the process, as he learned it at the Blackfeet Agency, Montana, thus: Having obtained evidence of illegal selling, a report must be sent to the Indian Bureau at Washington. There it is received, read, filed, and pigeonholed, and after a lapse of a considerable time reported to the Department of Justice for more reading, filing, pigeon-holing, and waiting. At last some one in the Department of Justice writes to the United States marshal at Helena, Mont., where the matter had to wait again for months and years. If the authorities are sufficiently stirred up in this way, the deputy marshal will at last go from Helena to the agency and at once arrest the whiskey-seller. The witnesses — Indians, half-breeds, and whites — are now brought together, at great loss of time to themselves, to attend the hearing before the grand jury. None of the Indians have any money to pay their expenses to Helena, two hundred miles distant. Perhaps the agent advances the amount needed out of his own pocket, or the Indians beg or borrow it from their friends, hoping that it will be refunded by the government. They attend the hearing and give their testimony. If the offender is indicted and bound over, the witnesses return home. Months roll by. Suddenly the deputy marshal again appears to announce that the trial of

the whiskey-seller is to come off soon, and that he has come to take the witnesses with him to Helena. The witnesses are summoned from here, there, and everywhere, obliged to leave their work and prepare to go away to be absent three weeks or a month. The marshal asks the witnesses if they have money for their expenses. Of course they have none, and are again reduced to borrowing unless the agent, who has no government funds out of which he can pay such expenses, is prepared again to supply the needed money out of his own pocket. And there are agents high-minded and generous enough to spend their own earnings in pushing liquor cases, but often to little purpose.

Under the law we have cited, the courts, if not inefficient and clearly leaning toward the liquor-dealers, have not as a rule meted out the maximum penalty. One agent complains that it costs $125 to prosecute a liquor case which results in a fine of $10 or a reprimand; another, that the penalty for violating the liquor statute is set at $1 or $1.25; a third, that offenders are "dismissed with a benediction," etc. After all, it is not so incredible that a Federal judge should in all seriousness advise an Indian agent to try other means of stopping the drink traffic than by legal prosecution.

We need not examine minutely the perplexities arising from the different rulings of courts in different States. The severest blow given the efforts to suppress intemperance among the Indians was a decision rendered by a United States District Court, in 1893, in which it was held that the sale of liquor to Indians

who have taken allotments in severalty is not a violation of the United States law, since by allotment they acquire citizenship with all its immunities and privileges. This decision at once resulted in flooding many districts with whiskey, to the dismay and consternation of agents. Other courts held the opposite view of the matter; and in 1895 the Indian Bureau took the first steps to have the law amended, so as to cover Indian allottees in its prohibitions. Two years later, January 30, 1897, a new act (29 Stats. 506) was approved by the President, which is the first adequate law dealing with the sale of liquor to the Indians ever passed by Congress. It aims to restrict the sale of intoxicating liquors of all kinds to Indians, also to those who have been given allotments in severalty, and have been made citizens of the United States, but who remain for a time under the guardianship and care of the government; also to extend the prohibition against the introduction of intoxicating liquors into the Indian country, so as to make it cover allotted lands which are held in trust by the United States, or that are held by the Indians without the right of alienation. The punishment is imprisonment for not less than 60 days and a fine of not less than $100 for the first offense, and not less than $200 for each subsequent offense. *Provided, however*, that the person convicted shall be committed until fine and costs are paid.

Great hopes for the future are built on this law. Whether it will be better enforced than those preceding it remains to be seen. At present the activity of the government in suppressing the illegal traffic is ex-

hibited in the prosecution of from two to five hundred whiskey-dealers annually. How many are finally convicted and properly punished, we do not know. While the law has been insufficient, its enforcement often a farce, and vain appeals have been made to Congress, "especial pains are taken (in the government schools) to inculcate principles of temperance, and scientific instruction is given as to the evil effects upon the human system of alcohol and narcotics."

CHAPTER VIII.

SOCIAL ASPECTS OF THE SALOON IN GREAT CITIES.

With superabundant evidence of the manifold ills flowing from intemperance, it is natural that the saloon, as the fountain-head and distributing centre of intoxicating drink, should have come to be regarded as typifying the vast evils resulting from the liquor habit, and nothing more.

Latterly men have begun to inquire whether, after all, current views have consigned the saloon to its proper place in our social economy. Recognizing in the saloon a social institution ancient in years, flourishing under all conditions, and vital enough to outlive the fiercest assaults from every side, they have raised these questions: — If the saloon be but a destroying force in the community, how could it thus long have escaped destruction? Since the saloon remains, is it not palpable that it ministers to deep-rooted wants of men which so far no other agency supplies, at least not so adequately?

The commonly accepted estimate of the saloon is a deduction from obvious phenomena of saloon life as seen from the outside, but not necessarily the essence of this life. The questionings of this estimate, on the other hand, arise from a closer acquaintance with the larger functions of the saloon, and the conditions which characterize the majority of its patrons, and from a

knowledge of what it means to them in opportunity of various kinds. And it is conceived that an analysis of the saloon upon any other basis than close personal acquaintance becomes merely so much psychological study of the mental processes of the investigator himself, utterly failing of its purpose.

Our somewhat fragmentary studies of the social aspects of the saloon rest upon local observations of saloon life undertaken in full consciousness of the far-reaching chain of miseries connected with the saloon. Little has been attempted beyond a portrayal of what saloons in certain localities and under certain conditions stand for, what social needs they supply, and why they are practically without rivals in their own particular field. We make no generalizations, and merely present the facts as they appear to competent observers.

Perhaps in no other large city in the country has the saloon enjoyed such a minimum of legal restrictions and maximum of liberty within those restrictions as in Chicago; nowhere else, therefore, has its development been so untrammeled. Certain phases of saloon life in this city are described by Mr. Ernest Carroll Moore, of the Hull House, in the following study made at the request of the Committee: —

CHICAGO.[1]

The section chosen for study was the nineteenth ward of Chicago, which covers an area of about eight tenths of a square mile. Its total population, accord-

[1] The condensed form in which Mr. Moore's report is given necessitated a few changes in language for which we are responsible, but the thought is his throughout.

ing to the school census of 1896, is 48,191, made up of twenty-four or more nationalities, the predominating ones being distributed as follows: Americans, 6184, Germans, 6721; Italians, 5784; Bohemians, 2944; About one half of all the inhabitants of foreign parentage are American born. It is a workingman's district, and its population is typical of unskilled labor in general. As to moral conditions, neither the extremes of vice nor of virtue are reached, while the general moral tone is rather healthful.

There are about two hundred saloons in the ward, the constant change in their number precluding an exact statement. These saloons were visited at various hours of the day and night. We did the things which other men do in the saloons. They were our loafing place, news centre, place for discussion, and common meeting ground, while the free lunch counter served in large part as the basis of food supply. We attempted to live the life of a saloon patron, trammeled neither by an abstinence pledge or opposition alliance of any kind, nor, on the other side, by the slightest predisposition for its wares.

What do these saloons offer which causes them to be so generally used? The answer herein attempted has been arrived at as a result of rather careful labor performed under conditions of coöperation and criticism, which have contributed more, perhaps, than is commonly the case to the verity of its results.

In the first place, the saloons of the nineteenth ward do not stand for intemperance among its patrons; of course the word "intemperance" is here used with some degree of elasticity. But in visiting some-

thing over two hundred saloons in the ward at various times of the night and day, I saw just three drunken men. This does not mean that many others had not partaken more freely than was good for them, but it does mean that only three gave evidence of intoxication by visible lack of control. It may be said, then, that the saloons which have been the subject of this inquiry do not "trade in or batten upon intemperance," at least of the extreme kind. Intemperance, as evidenced by loss of outer control in any visible degree, exists hardly at all, and then almost always in habitual cases.

As to the general character of the patrons of the saloon, it must be said unequivocally that it does not "personify the vilest elements of modern civilization," unless the modern civilization all about us in this locality be regarded as monotonously vile. There are in all but two saloons known to the police and to the public at large as headquarters of gangs of thieves; and there is one that is a well-known assignation house. But it is as unfair to generalize from such facts that the saloon personifies such elements as it would be to declare that the home personifies them, inasmuch as many more homes than saloons are contaminated by their presence. There is no saloon in the ward which is a house of prostitution, and no saloon which is a gamblers' headquarters. There are certain saloons in other localities which personify such elements, but it is because the locality personifies them also.

If, then, these saloons do not personify drunkenness or crime, they must exist because of some more worthy and more normal motive, and must supply some more

characteristic need. It is not denied, of course, that great waste, both in the direction of drunkenness and wickedness, is incident to the saloon as an institution, but it is denied that it stands for waste alone. For had the saloon no other reason for being retained than mere pleasurable waste, and were its value merely a pathological one, it would long since have suffered the ordinary fate of the unfit.

What is it one sees inside one of these saloons? Not a riotous company intent upon reducing itself to intoxication, but, instead, a well-behaved little group of men who play cards together, read, smoke, and drink a glass of beer. In not a single one of the many such groups observed did drinking seem to be the most important thing. One can watch card games in saloons in the Italian quarters for hours without seeing a single drink ordered. So also can he attend famous discussions carried on "without sticks" in Irish saloons, in which not a drop of liquor figures, whereas, in the German and Bohemian districts a single glass of beer will seem a sufficient stimulus to induce a period of prolonged meditation. Nowhere did drinking seem to be the principal thing, and there was a whole series of activities besides. Of 157 saloons, of whose inducements an accurate list was kept, 35 contained chairs and card tables, 92 offered lunch free, in 70 patrons might find papers and an opportunity to read them, 58 contained pool tables, 3 offered the use of a piano or organ, in 2 well-equipped gymnasiums were to be found, and 1 offered the use of a hand-ball court free. This is a part of the equipment of the saloon which allows it to function to a social

use. The saloon is here the workingman's club, in which many of his leisure hours are spent, and in which he finds more of the things that approximate luxury than in his home, almost more than he finds in any other public place in the ward.

In winter the saloon is warm, in summer cool, at night it is brightly lighted, and it is almost always clean. He finds there nearly all that clubs offer their members. But his demand for these things is not fundamental; they are but the means to his social expression; it is the society of his fellows that he must have. The need of workingmen's clubs in localities like the one considered must be apparent. At best the home surroundings for those who live by daily hard labor on a small wage, often supporting a large family, and subsisting on badly cooked food, are distressing enough, and cannot fully satisfy the social cravings of the average man. Moreover, there is a fundamental demand for the society of other fellow-beings which the family alone cannot supply. The crowds of non-understanding poor who in our large cities flock to free lectures, and the still larger numbers who congregate to spend a comfortable hour in the society of their kind wherever a mission is opened, bear witness to this truth. Many find the necessary social opportunity in what is to them its most satisfactory form in the saloon.

The saloon-keeper is the only man who keeps open house in the ward. It is his business to entertain. His democracy is one element of his strength. His place is the common and almost without exception the only meeting ground of his neighbors. What he sup-

plies renders their social life possible. Furthermore, the saloon-keeper himself is a social attraction. There is an accretion of intelligence which comes to him in his business. He hears the best stories. He is the first to get information about the latest political deals. Of the common talk of the day which passes through his ears, he retains what is most interesting. He moves in a larger society, composed of many social leaders like himself, who together come to have a much larger place and power than the average citizen. Social prestige, which elsewhere is determined by various other values, is here expressed in the saloon. It is the ready intelligence, the power derived from a wide acquaintance, which command local respect. He is always in the public eye, always making friends in a way that binds men to him. The saloon-keeper trusts his patron, a thing almost no one else does, "but there is not a saloon-keeper in Chicago who does not trust;" and this becomes the patron's debt of honor. By generosity also the saloon-keepers increase their seeming worth. They lend money, and where one known to them is in great need, they send fuel, food, and clothes. In short, the saloon-keeper is regarded in his own community as "a man with a warm heart and a glad hand," and, unfortunately for his community, this characterization is too often true. The saloon-keeper as a politician in power, with spoils to distribute, work to give, etc., becomes an even larger object of interest. Yet direct bribery or petty corruption is by no means so common as popularly imagined. Social favor is the price which most often passes current.

The social stimulus of men is then epitomized in the

saloon. It is a centre of learning, books, papers, and lecture hall to them. It is the clearing-house for common intelligence, the place where their philosophy of life is worked out, and their political and social beliefs take their beginnings. The saloon thus not only stands for social opportunity, but also affords the conditions of sociality. And it is for these two reasons, the independence and stimulation which it offers, that it succeeds in attracting men so much more successfully than its well-intentioned rivals. It is from the depressing effects of a sub-normal life which lacks especially in opportunities for self-expression and cheer that men come to it.

Stimulus is necessary to any form of psychic life. The quality of a psychic life depends in some measure at least upon the quality of the stimulus presented. The life of the ordinary workingman is made up of habits; and yet simply because of this fact psychical energy, which is unused in the very degree in which ordinary activity has become habitual, seeks the more persistently for its own appropriate form of expression. And because the proper stimulus to psychic expression is either foreign to the conditions or is not recognized because of defective education, recourse is had to the false stimulus of alcoholics. Its effect is well known — "the glow of warmth spreads over the whole system, the heart beats faster, happy thoughts crowd in upon the brain, and all seems life and light and joy, and everything without and within wears a roseate hue."

The failure of ordinary philanthropy to express the sociality of the life of the common man seems, there-

fore, traceable to two causes only, the greater of which is his inability to realize normal and proper stimulus when presented. The second cause can be found in the improper character of the stimulus itself. But the condition which the false stimulus effects is one which each of us recognizes as highly desirable, only there are various ways of reaching it. Polite society attains it by different means. The stimulus of books, pictures, and good music, together with a thousand incidents which make for well-adjusted social life, are here absent; and the constant stimulus of purposive intelligence, which contributes the very content of life itself does not exist. But human thought, which is here so bare and mean in opportunity, demands an avenue of expression, and finds it in the best way it can, which is largely through the stimulus of the saloon. And as yet society has been unable to devise processes of education and bring about conditions of life in general which shall obviate the necessity for many to seek expression through the medium of the saloon, though it be a pathological expression of the meanest kind.

"It is the working class that drink," and the above are the reasons why they are the best patrons of the saloons. For the most part they are no longer young men, and life has become more or less fixed and settled in the possibilities which it holds out to them. Of the younger men who become regular patrons of the saloon, most, I am assured, do so because of a desire to be "tough" and to appear "swagger good fellows" in the little societies to which they belong. This is due to the survival of unfit ideals through a defective education. These are the exceptions rather than the

rule. The saloon must look to the older men in the community for support, to men over thirty years of age. The percentage of these who are unmarried, saloon-keepers say, is quite large, and yet both married and unmarried men seem to patronize it for the same reason; that is, the lack of social opportunity, which, of course, the unmarried man feels more commonly. He is more alone in the world, is under larger obligation to prove himself a good fellow, but is also more free from responsibility.

Possibly no more exact idea of the extent to which the saloon functions as a social centre in this locality can be had than that implied by the fact that a population of about 48,000 supports over 200 saloons, primarily, as we believe, for this purpose. At the same time, other comforts offered by the saloon are not lost sight of. It offers among other things the cheapest necessaries of life that one can buy, "an egg or a clam free with every drink," and if one is so brazen as to take all he can get he will have no difficulty in purchasing a glass of beer, a "red hot" frankfurter, and a small sandwich, all for five cents. Besides, the use of the toilet room, a chair, and a stove are thrown in. For a very small price a hungry man can get as much as he wants to eat and drink. As a rule the food is notoriously good and the price notoriously cheap. And that air of poverty which unfailingly pervades the cheap restaurant, and finds its adequate expression in ragged and dirty table linen, is here wanting. Instead, polished oak tables are used, and the food appears in such abundance as to give one a sense of security, while the restaurant would have done its best

to drive home the consciousness of poverty. That the saloon furnishes the necessaries of life to thousands and feeds them well, my own experience of lunching there for a month has convinced me. It is worth repeating that it furnishes the common lavatory for the entire city. It should be remembered, however, that here, at least, the saloon is by no means the profitable institution it once was; indeed, profits have been reduced to a minimum, and more saloon-keepers than any other class of tradesmen fail in business.

Social organization is not common in this locality, and quite uncommon save in close connection with the saloon. The few pleasure clubs and dancing parties to be found seem to depend almost directly upon the saloon for their existence, while any form of political activity is seldom disassociated from it. One finds occasionally self-existing men's clubs that are removed from the saloon only to the extent of renting their own room and buying their beer direct from the brewer. Moreover, it must be noted that their organization is not a close one, that they escape for the most part the conventions of order, of business officers, etc., and reach a larger freedom which is to them most essential. But there is one form of club life farther removed from the saloon which, while not so democratic as the ones just mentioned, has succeeded in developing a series of vital interests among its members, has enabled them to lay hold of a higher form of stimulus, and to the same extent has freed them from the false stimulus of the saloon. We refer to the labor union, which has put new meaning into the lives of so many workingmen by bringing them to a consciousness of their value to

society. It must be remembered, however, that comparatively few workingmen belong to unions, and that they meet but seldom, and the unions thus become but incomplete substitutes for the saloon.

A series of social activities exist, having Hull House for their centre, which are non-related substitutes for the saloon. The typical form is a social club for young people which is largely self-elective and self-governing, but which exerts a most summary influence on the lives of its members. Its purpose is to afford opportunities through educational work which is not too difficult. It is safe to put the number of young people who share in the activities of Hull House at several hundred.

Of churches, there is a Catholic cathedral at one corner of the ward, with an estimated membership of about 20,000, of whom 10,000, perhaps, live in the ward. Another is the Bohemian Catholic Church, with a membership of about 500 from this locality. Of Protestant churches, one has an attendance of 250 to 300, almost all of whom "use the street cars in reaching the church," that is, live outside the ward. Another is a church supported in part from outside, with an average attendance of about 40; a mission with an average attendance of some 70; a Greek church for the 153 Greeks who live here. This is the complete list of churches in the ward. Estimated attendance on these churches may be placed at 11,012, and estimated attendance elsewhere, 10,000 (this is very high). This in a population of 48,191 gives a non-church-going population of 27,179. Our figures err on the side of too great liberality, but point sufficiently to the poverty of the religious life of the community.

Night schools and extension classes and a local branch of the public library, together with the clubs and classes organized under the Cathedral Sodality, constitute a series of educational substitutes for the saloon. There is at present one night school in the ward. It has an average attendance of some 250, of whom about 75 are of the age and sex to whom the saloon appeals.

The local branch of the public library is one of the best working institutions in the ward. Not only does it give out hundreds of books, but it furnishes a free reading-room to an average of about 200 people a day. Extension classes organized and conducted at Hull House number some 300 young men and women among their members. The Sodality clubs for men number about 750 who attend more or less regularly. These clubs seem to be religious rather than social, and they claim attention here only because they have their own reading-room, card and billiard room, library, etc. Yet these form so small a part of the life of the clubs that it is doubtful if they can be classified as a substitute for the saloon distinct from the church itself.

But none of these institutions function to any great extent as a substitute for the saloon. Crowded as they are, they reach a comparatively small number of people, and these for a large part young people, freer in a measure from the heavier burdens of existence. The church privileges offered are not such as to rival the saloon. The public library does reach out and hold a large number of men who would otherwise be unoccupied, and so would be likely to use the opportunities which the saloon offers. But the numbers in its read-

ing-room are hardly more than might be counted inside the fairly successful saloon during its longer day.

The night school meets a want which it doubtless stirs up in most cases. Yet in some cases, at least, the want itself would be sufficient to keep the pupils from dependence on the saloon, and to this degree the school cannot be called a substitute. The other study classes appeal to people who as yet are quite free from dependence on the saloon.

NEW YORK.

On Manhattan Island throughout its length and breadth, in Brooklyn and the other boroughs of Greater New York, counterparts of just such saloons as Mr. Moore found in Chicago may be counted by hundreds, differing only so far as local conditions give them a peculiar stamp. In the down-town section of the famous East Side of New York, the drink places have perhaps attained the most characteristic development; at least, nowhere in the city are the various types, distinguished by the nationalities chiefly patronizing them, more pronounced.

South of East Houston Street and east of the Bowery lies one of the most densely populated tenement districts in the world, for the larger part inhabited by Russian, Polish, and German Jews. Other nationalities are also found in respectable numbers, but the place is for the time the chosen abode of the toiling mass of Hebrews. The lowliest of skilled laborers, the clothing makers, live there in teeming numbers, so do peddlers, small shopkeepers, and artisans of all kinds; in short, occupations of infinite variety are represented.

In the circumstances and environment of most of the Jews there is much to suggest causes of intemperance. Physically they are not robust; many are afflicted with pulmonary tuberculosis; they are often lonely; they work and live under unhygienic conditions, in sweat shops, for instance. Many, such as the peddlers, eke out the barest existence, through long days and evenings exposed to inclement weather, with little to eat. At best the food of these people is of inferior quality, and at times, alas, the poorest is hard to get. Why should they not drink?

For whiskey the Russian and Polish Jews have a decided liking, ascribing to it great medicinal virtues, and often giving it in unwise doses to sick babies. Except among the German Jews, the taste for malt liquors is not yet strongly developed. In greater or less quantities all use alcoholic beverages in some form. Roughly estimated, the district supports one drink place to about 300 inhabitants, which means that there are at least four saloons to the block, sometimes more. Not a few of the saloons are owned by Jews, others cater exclusively to Jewish patronage; in fact, without it scores would have to close their doors. As a rule these shops, half saloon, half restaurant, in which English is rarely spoken, and the very signs of which are in "Yiddish," are quiet and decent enough, though not over clean. Their attractions, as well as the prices of their wares, vary according to the class of custom sought.

Here, then, we find saloon-keepers and saloon patrons of a most abstemious race, thrifty often to penuriousness, among whom drunkards are exceedingly rare, who

indeed frequently express the utmost contempt for those becoming slaves to the liquor habit. Yet they drink, and the saloon is to them an important institution. It is not poverty that keeps them from over-indulgence, for the Irish 'longshoreman in the next block who is in just as dire straits finds opportunity for many a drunken orgie; and these people are known to risk their savings in gambling. Neither are they abstemious from principle. Total abstinence is not preached, much less practiced; the use of wine is a part of their religion, and they share it with their children. Not lacking for incentives to drink to forgetfulness, they deserve consideration as the decent in the community, as a "family people" whose often pitiable condition can but in the rarest instances be traced to intemperance and resulting viciousness.

Nevertheless, thousands of Hebrews are habitués of the saloon, and, be it remembered, exclusively their own saloons. To assert that these saloons stand for intemperance first, or even to a considerable extent, would be to deny every known fact concerning their patrons. It is not enough to say that they solely owe their attractiveness to the fact that they "epitomize the comforts and luxuries of the locality," or that merely a sense of discomfort pervading the dark tenement home, with its tired, unkempt wife and restless children, leads to its use, or in many cases the absence of a place called home. No, at bottom it must be craving for fellowship underlying the unrest of the workingman's idle hours that draws him to the saloon. There he finds what the average family life cannot supply and what no other institution offers. Because he knows nothing

better he resorts to the use of liquor as a "stimulus to social expression."

Between the Bowery and Broadway, running south from East Houston Street to Canal Street, is the principal Italian quarter of the city. Of the inhabitants, numbering about 30,000, nearly two thirds are Italians. They represent all classes, from the poorest, who find most of their food in garbage boxes, to the opulent banker and his fellow, the padrone. Most of them belong to the order of unskilled labor of a lowly type. No other nationality counts so many men without families, or is from the nature of their occupations so migratory in character as the Italian. It follows that relatively few have fixed abodes. Even those among them who are employed in remunerative occupations are fortunate if they can escape spending much of the year in idleness. It is well within the truth to say that the average Italian in New York does not find steady employment for more than five and a half months of the year. According to the Ninth Special Report of the United States Commissioner of Labor, the average time of non-employment of the unemployed in Italian families of Chicago was 7.2 months per year.

As a class the Italians live wretchedly, in ignorance of all laws of hygiene. Their food is often unwholesome and usually badly cooked. Added to this is the fact that a multitude of the men who are unmarried or who left their families behind are herded in boarding-houses, if so dignified a name can be applied to the establishments conducted by the padroni, there living no small part of the time in nearly absolute inactivity.

What wonder that the saloons attract men under these conditions! It is the one place offering cheer and light and relief from fearful monotony — the one place in which they are understood and always welcome.

Of the 150 saloons or so in the district, a majority depend upon the Italian trade; some have no other. In the veriest sense many of them are the clubs of the Italian workingmen. No matter how crowded the quarters and mean the appointments, they are infinitely better than those of the average tenement. From morning till night they are thronged with idlers who pass the smallest portion of the time in drinking. The consumption of beer, however, which takes the place of the light wines of Italy, is considerable; much is taken home to be divided with the wife and children. Little whiskey is drunk. It has been stated that in numerous instances the family expenditure for beer is largely in excess of that spent for milk.

Drinking to the point of intoxication is the exception in these saloons, for the Italians are a temperate people. To them the saloon means in the first instance social opportunity unpurchasable elsewhere for any price within their reach, and without which their lives would be a dreary waste. Drink, though inseparable from the saloon, does not appear to be indulged in by a majority merely for drink's sake, but as a means to greater sociality and an unavoidable tribute for the privileges of the place. To deny that some of these saloons are vile and shelter vicious elements of the population would be to betray ignorance of a portion of the Italian population. Police court records furnish the evidence in point. But we are not dealing

with the exceptions. Wherever Italians congregate in large numbers, their relations to saloon life are similar to those described.

The characteristics of the ordinary German beer shops, such as abound in the typically German districts, are so generally known that little need be said about them. One observes in them a large consumption of beer and various foods, little visible intoxication, and an air of heartiness (*Gemüthlichkeit*) all the German's own. It is expected that the patron will take his ease here, every convenience being afforded for that purpose; and other means than drinking are at hand to pass the idle hour.

In the degree that beer to the German is a necessary of life, in the same degree the saloon stands for beer drinking, but not for a place of inebriation. If it were but this, would the self-respecting German workman take his wife and other female members of his family there? A craving for *Geselligkeit* is probably more developed among the Germans than among any other people. The saloon provides the only place in which it can be obtained for a nominal price by thousands of sober and thrifty Germans. To them more than to any other people, the "beer hall" is a family resort, and its principal ware is in too common use to be considered in the least as a temptation.

The typical Irish saloon seems in some respects a passing institution in New York. The German model is more and more copied, and the Irishman is learning from his Teutonic neighbor wisdom in drinking. Yet it will hardly be questioned that the most representative Irish saloons stand for immoderate drinking and

drunkenness in greater measure than any others. Nevertheless, where the hardest drinking prevails, for instance in the saloons frequented by sailors and 'longshoremen along the water front, it is undeniable that the desire for sociality is one of the chief attractions. Except so far as certain occupations, for example that of the 'longshoreman, seem to generate a craving for stimulants, it is difficult to understand why social drinking is so quickly abused by the Irish. That the Irish saloon more than any other combines political activity with its other functions is well known.

Although confining our attention as we do to the saloons chiefly patronized by the manual laborers, since it is for the latter that the overwhelming number of drink places exist, we have not forgotten that in the midst of the swarming tenement districts are saloons of a very different type from those described. There are moral sinks designated by the name of saloons, though drink selling is not always their immediate purpose, the vileness of which beggars description. Happily, saloons that are the haunts of the criminal class or homes of prostitution are in the minority. It may be said in passing that on the East Side abandoned women infest largely so-called cafés where liquor is illegally sold, and comparatively few saloons.

There are, however, some drink places that are nothing else, that depend upon confirmed drunkards for a living. Yet even in some of these the patrons, long since lost to manhood or womanhood, find along with drink the only place which offers shelter and a certain welcome. A lodging business is sometimes combined with drink selling. When the closing hour comes,

the remaining customers mark with a piece of chalk a spot on the floor the length and breadth of their bodies. Here they lie down to sleep, paying the proprietor five cents for the "spot." Purchasers of "spots" sometimes belong to the class of women known on the East Side as "scrubs." They are mostly elderly drinkers, without ties, without hope, too deficient mentally to have activity in any sphere, and too old to build on.

Are there any true substitutes for the saloon in New York? We do not believe that the saloon-keeper considers that he has other serious rivals than those competing with him for trade. We are mindful of the heroic work done by the settlements, churches, and missions, but it is on the whole of a preventive nature, unless we except the influence of individual upon individual; and institutions to assume the peculiar functions of the saloon are not provided. The clubs and classes of the settlements have proved their value, and probably take stronger hold than similar organizations connected with the churches, since their influence is not impaired by ecclesiastical differences. Above all, so few are the agencies directly aiming to counteract the saloon that the mass of people are unreached and as yet unreachable.

BOSTON.

In a recently published study by the South End House[1] of social conditions in the so-called South End of Boston, we get a picture of saloons contrasting in some respects with those already given. It must be remembered, however, that the South End is not a

[1] *The City Wilderness*, Boston, 1898.

typical workingman's district. To be sure there is here a "dense lodging-house and tenement-house population representing all nationalities and every grade of middle class and working class existence." But it is very far from being representative either of honest skilled or unskilled labor. "Its traditions are on the side of moral laxity. Formerly for a period of years this district was left to its own devices. All sorts of evil flourished here with but little interference from any source. . . . Immorality still persists in expecting to be freer from molestation here than elsewhere. . . . Comparatively free as the district is from crimes of a more serious kind, it is nevertheless infested by suspicious characters of all sorts and many lawbreakers."

The saloons and drink habits are thus described: —

"In 1897 the number of liquor licenses, including those for groceries, wholesale liquor establishments, restaurants, and saloons, was almost exactly 200. About 100 of them were ordinary bar-rooms; this it should be remembered is in an area of less than three quarters of a square mile. Besides the licensed places there are a number of resorts where liquor is sold illegally. As one would infer from the number and variety of the drinking-places, the liquor habit, in some degree, is very general throughout the section. In certain neighborhoods it is practically universal among both men and women. Women, however, are forbidden by police regulations to patronize the bar-rooms. In a very large number of cases drinking is excessive. As to the causes of drunkenness, so far as they can be got at, some act here as they act everywhere, and some are involved in social conditions. Chief of the general

causes is the craving for excitement. The poor man drinks in the midst of his lack, just as the rich man drinks in the midst of his surfeit. Both in the ordinary round of their lives seek a stimulus to lift them out of their inertia." . . . To the question, Is the saloon the poor man's club? it is replied, "In our district it undertakes to be that merely in the restricted sense of having, in many cases, a tolerably well-defined group of patrons, who come to have certain privileges. With a few exceptions the saloons provide no seats. Most of them have but limited free space outside the bar. Loitering here after the drink is finished is not encouraged. Indeed, the loafer would be invited to give way to new arrivals. In the case of the poor man the street is his hospitable club rather than the saloon. Here he will meet his companions, resorting to the saloon for drinking only. There are two or three German saloons that provide chairs and tables, and here men may pass the entire evening over their beer, papers, and games. But the constituency of these resorts is necessarily limited. The gilded saloon with its welcoming warmth, its cheery light, and other enticements, where for the price of two or three glasses of liquor the poor man may pass the evening with boon companions, hardly exists in the district.

"The reason for this is the necessity of good order imposed by the Board of Police; and as all screens are forbidden, every passing citizen is in effect a police officer. Under this same constraint, the saloon does not in every case use all possible means to increase its trade. While it may resort to various devices for drawing men in, as the free lunch, pugilistic news, and

baseball returns, yet there are instances where it intentionally cuts down the sale of liquor. It is somewhat surprising to find that a sedative is not infrequently given, unknown to the customer, to lessen the morbid craving. There is a firm that has the curious business of manufacturing such a sedative, which it sells in large quantities to saloon-keepers throughout the city. Some saloons, also, apparently do not try to force their trade much beyond the demand already existing in their immediate neighborhoods."

In other parts of Boston, notably in Roxbury, Charlestown, and East Boston, as well as in the foreign colonies of the North End, saloons nearer in character to those of the ninth ward of Chicago are far from wanting, though police regulations have robbed them of much of that privacy which they in other places extend to their customers.

SAN FRANCISCO.

From a report made at the request of the committee by Mr. Kendric Charles Babcock, resident worker of the South Park Settlement, we make the following extract: —

"The saloon is prominently at the front as a social centre in San Francisco for several classes of people; not merely the lower and middle classes resort to them, but also the considerable gambling and sporting population of this very cosmopolitan city. . . . In the cheap saloons, cards are offered instead of billiards, and the attraction of gambling is added to that of the ordinary saloon. In most of these places, the early part of the evening sees the tables and cards well used.

What the place lacks in fittings, the saloon-keeper makes up by his cordiality. He knows the habitués, he greets them heartily, he establishes personal relations with the men, frequently loaning them small sums when they get in a 'tight place,' and becomes as nearly as any one a real friend of the man who lives in boarding-houses or tenements.

"In San Francisco the great majority of the groceries are also saloons. . . . It is sometimes difficult to tell which element of trade is the more predominant, the day trade in groceries or the day and night traffic in liquor. Through the day these places are carrying on both trades, women and children go to them freely for groceries and sometimes for pails of beer. They find the liquor traffic on precisely the same plane as the bread or sugar trade. At night the men drop in as to an ordinary saloon. . . .

"The saloon is a great meeting-place for the young men both in the evening and on Sundays, for there is nothing even suggesting any midnight or Sunday closing regulation. Every place is as wide open as its doors and doorkeeper will allow. The saloon is a rendezvous for those who want companionship and for those who want special meetings or conferences, but have no convenient place elsewhere. This is especially true in the tenement and cheap boarding-house part of the city, commonly known as 'South of Market Street.' In this district there are within an area of 64 rather small blocks 440 saloons. . . . In some cases married couples go to these saloons, because fuel and lights are thus dispensed with, and because the place, bare though it may be, is really more comfortable and cheery than their own so-called homes.

"The substitutes for the saloon are very few and are mainly of an educational or religious character, especially in the 'South of Market Street' region. They comprise branch Public Library Reading-Rooms, Salvation Army quarters, League of the Cross armories, the Episcopalian Good Samaritan Mission, several boys' clubs, the Sailors' Home, other seamen's clubs, containing billiards, reading-rooms, etc. Taken altogether, it is clear that the extent to which all of these agencies enter into competition with the 440 saloons is almost insignificant; and there is little or no coöperation among them."

PITTSBURGH.

A fairly close acquaintance with the saloons in Pittsburgh leads us to say that they share the main features of drink places in the other cities of which we have given some account. It is interesting, however, to learn what agencies are found within a limited area, peopled by the lower order of laborers, that serve in some measure as counter attractions or substitutes for the saloon. The area in question covers the ninth and tenth wards of the city, within which the social settlement known as the Kingsley House has its sphere of activity. For our facts we are indebted to Miss Ethel R. Evans, one of the residents of the settlement.

The two wards have a population of about 7000, mainly Irish, Germans, and Poles. About 39 licensed saloons and a large number of unlicensed ones ("speak-easies") are found within the ward limits; furthermore, there are three private clubs at which liquor is always obtainable, with a membership of from 175 to

200; and the rules about inviting guests are very elastic.

Outside the two small Protestant and three large Catholic churches, the agencies that may to some extent serve to attract people away from the saloons are the following: 1. A young men's club of 15 members, which has its own room and furnishes means for social intercourse without the use of liquor. 2. A Young Men's Institute connected with the Irish Catholic Church, membership 300; meetings are held only once a week at present, but it is expected to keep the rooms open every evening, to provide a pool table, etc. 3. A temperance society of 90 members connected with the same church. It has rooms provided with games, etc., and is accessible daily. 4. A library and dramatic society connected with the German Catholic Church; age limit 18, and usual attendance 10 to 15. It has a bowling alley, one pool table, and a very small library. 5. The Polish Catholic Church also has a young men's club with a membership of 40 and an average attendance of about 10.

The above, with the clubs and classes of the Kingsley House, make a complete list of the agencies which in a very restricted sense can be said to compete with the saloons as centres of social activity. Comment is superfluous.

We have dwelt on the place which the saloon takes in the life of the work-classes in some cities, with special reference to nationalities. We are fortunate in being able to close this chapter with some remarks on the general relations of the workingmen of this country

to the saloons regardless of nationalities, from the pen of Professor Walter A. Wyckoff, author of "The Workers," whose large personal experience as one of the workers lends peculiar authority to his words.

"My short association with workingmen in this country gave to me a very strong impression of the perfect adaptation to their social needs which the saloon as an institution supplies. There is no social fact apart from the family which seems to me, by reason of its strength and efficiency, to bear comparison with the saloon in its influence upon the lives of workingmen in America.

"And the perfectness of adaptation arises from the natural growth of the institution rather than from conscious premeditation. No institution so perfect could possibly be devised; it must be the result of development.

"The *animus* in the enterprise as an enterprise is perfectly plain: it springs from the keen competition in a business crowded, as perhaps few forms of retail trade are crowded by individual enterprises. The personality of the proprietor and his employees may have much to do with the success of the saloon; certainly his intimate knowledge of the social needs of his *clientèle* has much to do with it. It is a serious mistake to suppose that saloon-keepers as a class are bent upon the destruction of their fellow-men and callous to any appeal for help from their victims. Saloon-keepers as a class are bent on making money, very often deeply concerned about making a bare living, and not infrequently they are men of quite singular practical helpfulness to the needy about them. From the range

and accuracy of his personal knowledge of the poor, many a saloon-keeper gives far more timely and practical help to the destitute of his neighborhood than is forthcoming from well-intentioned acts of outside philanthropy.

"Let a man be out of work and homeless upon the streets of a city, and he very soon discovers that the saloons are his natural and almost his inevitable resort. The few cents which he may pick up at odd jobs will procure for him there at the free lunch counters the palatable fare that three or four times the amount would barely purchase at any restaurant. And at the saloon he rids himself, for the time at least, of the horrible sense of isolation which weighs heavily upon workingmen who are in honest search for employment. He understands the social atmosphere of the place. It is native to him, even if he has not been in the habit of frequenting saloons. He makes easy acquaintance with the proprietor and with other men, and may receive valuable suggestions from them in relation to employment. He is not always obliged to pay for a drink, but is sometimes 'treated,' and kindness of such nature he will not soon forget. In the better times of steady work no small share of his wages is sure to find its way back to the saloon which harbored him in the time of his unemployment.

"The saloon is a money-making institution; to that end it adapts itself marvelously to the social needs of workingmen, and they feel in this adaptation a reality and a naturalness which could not be simulated.

"Operatives hurrying from a factory at noon hour have only to cross the street to saloons where schoon-

ers of beer freshly drawn are waiting for them, and there, in abundant light and warmth and in an atmosphere of congenial sociability, they may sit and eat their midday meal in comfort.

"Let a philanthropic employer, fearful of the influence of the saloon upon his men, open a place where they may dine, furnish them good food at cost prices, spare no pains to offset by counter attractions the allurements of the saloon, and he will carry his experiment to success, if he succeeds at all, by most untiring and thankless perseverance through difficulties almost insuperable. The motive of the saloon the men understand, and instinctively they feel at home there, but they will be suspicious of the motive of the best employer: 'He is trying in some way to get the better of us; if he wishes to be generous let him increase our wages with which we shall do as we please, rather than press upon us his idea of what is for our good.'

"The saloon, as it appears to me, in relation to the wage-earning classes in America, is an organ of high development, adapting itself with singular perfectness to its functions in catering in a hundred ways to the social and political needs of men; and if it is to be combated successfully by an institution, this institution must be rooted in natural causes and must minister with equal efficiency to real social needs.

"In view of results for which the saloon is largely responsible, in the wreck of individual lives, in the known relation which its traffic bears to the totality of crime and pauperism and insanity and unmeasured misery caused by the consuming appetite which it breeds, it is vital that an opposing institution rooted in

the necessity of reform and in conscious responsibility for one's fellow-men, and having, too, a valid economic basis in yielding profit, should be fostered by infinite patience and care, and grow in all helpfulness to practical adaptation to constructive social good."

Second reading finished Aug 19, 1901, 2.10
208 W. Stanton
Staunton

APPENDIX

NOTE. — Detail tables to the number of twenty-four have been omitted from the Appendix. Although of interest to the student, they are not essential, and their bulk proved too unwieldy for this volume.

RELATIONS OF THE LIQUOR PROBLEM TO POVERTY.—TABLE I.

APPLICANTS FOR RELIEF AS AFFECTED BY THE PERSONAL USE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS, BY COLOR.

Name and Location of Organization Reporting.	White Applicants.				Colored Applicants.				Aggregate of Applicants.			
	Condition due to personal use of liquor.	Condition not due to personal use of liquor.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total.	Condition due to personal use of liquor.	Condition not due to personal use of liquor.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total.	Condition due to personal use of liquor.	Condition not due to personal use of liquor.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total.
Charity Organization Society of the city of New York.												
Number.	330	1116	221	1667	4	31	3	38	334	1147	224	1705
Per cent.	19.79	66.95	13.26	100.00	10.53	81.58	7.89	100.00	19.59	67.27	13.14	100.00
Chicago Bureau of Associated Charities, Chicago, Ill.												
Number.	232	828	149	1209	2	17	5	24	234	845	154	1233
Per cent.	19.19	68.49	12.32	100.00	8.34	70.83	20.83	100.00	18.98	68.53	12.49	100.00
Brooklyn Bureau of Charities, Brooklyn, N. Y.												
Number.	719	3785	232	4736	18	144	7	169	737	3929	239	4905
Per cent.	15.18	79.92	4.90	100.00	10.65	85.21	4.14	100.00	15.03	80.10	4.87	100.00
Charity Organization Society, Baltimore, Md.												
Number.	113	704	24	841	6	220	12	238	119	924	36	1079
Per cent.	13.44	83.71	2.85	100.00	2.52	92.44	5.04	100.00	11.03	85.63	3.34	100.00

Associated Charities, San Francisco, Cal.	Number.	320	1138	78	1536	–	10	–	10	320	1148	78	1546
	Per cent.	20.83	74.09	5.08	100.00	–	100.00	–	100.00	20.70	74.26	5.04	100.00
Associated Charities, Cincinnati, Ohio.	Number.	327	1807	22	2156	15	321	–	336	342	2128	22	2492
	Per cent.	15.17	83.81	1.02	100.00	4.46	95.54	–	100.00	13.72	85.40	0.88	100.00
Charity Organization Society, Buffalo, N. Y.	Number.	273	939	51	1263	1	21	–	22	274	960	51	1285
	Per cent.	21.61	74.35	4.04	100.00	4.55	95.45	–	100.00	21.32	74.71	3.97	100.00
Associated Charities, Washington, D. C.	Number.	107	363	13	483	117	911	24	1052	224	1274	37	1535
	Per cent.	22.15	75.16	2.69	100.00	11.12	86.60	2.28	100.00	14.59	83.00	2.41	100.00
Charity Organization Society, Louisville, Ky.	Number.	137	394	8	539	9	96	–	105	146	490	8	644
	Per cent.	25.42	73.10	1.48	100.00	8.57	91.43	–	100.00	22.67	76.09	1.24	100.00
Society for Organization of Charity, Rochester, N. Y.	Number.	92	310	19	421	1	2	–	3	93	312	19	424
	Per cent.	21.85	73.64	4.51	100.00	33.33	66.67	–	100.00	21.93	73.59	4.48	100.00
Associated Charities, St. Paul, Minn.	Number.	188	688	34	910	6	27	1	34	194	715	35	944
	Per cent.	20.66	75.60	3.74	100.00	17.65	79.41	2.94	100.00	20.55	75.74	3.71	100.00
Society for Organizing Charity, Providence, R. I.	Number.	112	194	19	325	3	24	3	30	115	218	22	355
	Per cent.	34.46	59.69	5.85	100.00	10.00	80.00	10.00	100.00	32.39	61.41	6.20	100.00
Charity Organization Society, Denver, Col.	Number.	177	964	261	1402	1	22	7	30	178	986	268	1432
	Per cent.	12.62	68.76	18.62	100.00	3.33	73.33	23.34	100.00	12.43	68.85	18.72	100.00
Charity Organization Society, Indianapolis, Ind.	Number.	163	419	121	703	16	108	21	145	179	527	142	848
	Per cent.	23.19	59.60	17.21	100.00	11.04	74.48	14.48	100.00	21.11	62.14	16.75	100.00

RELATIONS OF THE LIQUOR PROBLEM TO POVERTY. — TABLE I., *continued.*

APPLICANTS FOR RELIEF AS AFFECTED BY THE PERSONAL USE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS, BY COLOR.

Name and Location of Organization Reporting.		White Applicants.				Colored Applicants.				Aggregate of Applicants.			
		Condition due to personal use of liquor.	Condition not due to personal use of liquor.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total.	Condition due to personal use of liquor.	Condition not due to personal use of liquor.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total.	Condition due to personal use of liquor.	Condition not due to personal use of liquor.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total.
Charity Organization Society, Albany, N. Y.	Number.	147	348	3	498	3	16	–	19	150	364	3	517
	Per cent.	29.52	69.88	0.60	100.00	15.79	84.21	–	100.00	29.01	70.41	0.58	100.00
Bureau of Labor and Charities, Syracuse, N. Y.	Number.	81	314	30	425	2	11	–	13	83	325	30	438
	Per cent.	19.06	73.88	7.06	100.00	15.38	84.62	–	100.00	18.95	74.20	6.85	100.00
Associated Charities, Worcester, Mass.	Number.	82	224	28	334	1	9	1	11	83	233	29	345
	Per cent.	24.55	67.07	8.38	100.00	9.09	81.82	9.09	100.00	24.06	67.54	8.40	100.00
Organized Charities Association, New Haven, Ct.	Number.	503	2721	128	3352	4	152	8	164	507	2873	136	3516
	Per cent.	15.00	81.18	3.82	100.00	2.43	92.68	4.88	100.00	14.42	81.71	3.87	100.00
Associated Charities, Cambridge, Mass.	Number.	110	197	54	361	4	38	7	49	114	235	61	410
	Per cent.	30.47	54.57	14.96	100.00	8.16	77.55	14.29	100.00	27.80	57.32	14.88	100.00

Associated Charities, Wilmington, Del.	Number.	78	221	31	330	17	131	18	166	95	352	49	496
	Per cent.	23.64	66.97	9.39	100.00	10.24	78.92	10.84	100.00	19.15	70.97	9.88	100.00
Charity Organization Society, Grand Rapids, Mich.	Number.	183	421	42	646	2	14	1	17	185	435	43	663
	Per cent.	28.33	65.17	6.50	100.00	11.76	82.36	5.88	100.00	27.90	65.61	6.49	100.00
Associated Charities, Lynn, Mass.	Number.	175	442	–	617	7	15	–	22	182	457	–	639
	Per cent.	28.36	71.64	–	100.00	31.82	68.18	–	100.00	28.48	71.52	–	100.00
Charity Organization Society, Lincoln, Neb.	Number.	93	415	6	514	8	29	–	37	101	444	6	551
	Per cent.	18.09	80.74	1.17	100.00	21.62	78.38	–	100.00	18.33	80.58	1.09	100.00
Charity Organization Society, Hartford, Conn.	Number.	226	391	54	671	5	34	1	40	231	425	55	711
	Per cent.	33.68	58.27	8.05	100.00	12.50	85.00	2.50	100.00	32.49	59.77	7.74	100.00
Union Relief Association, Springfield, Mass.	Number.	40	81	4	125	1	12	1	14	41	93	5	139
	Per cent.	32.00	64.80	3.20	100.00	7.14	85.72	7.14	100.00	29.49	66.91	3.60	100.00
Associated Charities, Somerville, Mass.	Number.	10	45	–	55	–	–	–	–	10	45	–	55
	Per cent.	18.18	81.82	–	100.00	–	–	–	–	18.18	81.82	–	100.00
Associated Charities, Pawtucket, R. I.	Number.	45	46	–	91	–	1	–	1	45	47	–	92
	Per cent.	49.45	50.55	–	100.00	–	100.00	–	100.00	51.09	48.91	–	100.00
Associated Charities, Davenport, Ia.	Number.	42	215	42	299	2	13	–	15	44	228	42	314
	Per cent.	14.05	71.90	14.05	100.00	13.33	86.67	–	100.00	14.01	72.61	13.38	100.00
Fitchburg Benevolent Union, Fitchburg, Mass.	Number.	3	59	6	68	–	–	–	–	3	59	6	68
	Per cent.	4.41	86.77	8.82	100.00	–	–	–	–	4.41	86.77	8.82	100.00

RELATIONS OF THE LIQUOR PROBLEM TO POVERTY. — TABLE I., *continued.*

APPLICANTS FOR RELIEF AS AFFECTED BY THE PERSONAL USE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS, BY COLOR.

Name and Location of Organization Reporting.		White Applicants.				Colored Applicants.				Aggregate of Applicants.			
		Condition due to personal use of liquor.	Condition not due to personal use of liquor.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total.	Condition due to personal use of liquor.	Condition not due to personal use of liquor.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total.	Condition due to personal use of liquor.	Condition not due to personal use of liquor.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total.
Associated Charities, Wilmington, N. C.	Number.	6	116	5	127	–	–	–	–	6	116	5	127
	Per cent.	4.72	91.34	3.94	100.00	–	–	–	–	4.72	91.34	3.94	100.00
Charity Organization Society, Bayonne, N. J.	Number.	104	111	16	231	1	7	–	8	105	118	16	239
	Per cent.	45.02	48.05	6.93	100.00	12.50	87.50	–	100.00	43.93	49.37	6.70	100.00
Charity Organization Society, New Brunswick, N. J.	Number.	32	27	2	61	3	14	1	18	35	41	3	79
	Per cent.	52.46	44.26	3.28	100.00	16.67	77.78	5.55	100.00	44.30	51.90	3.80	100.00
Charity Organization, New Britain, Ct.	Number.	15	81	1	97	–	–	–	–	15	81	1	97
	Per cent.	15.47	83.50	1.03	100.00	–	–	–	–	15.47	83.50	1.03	100.00

RELATIONS OF THE LIQUOR PROBLEM TO POVERTY.—TABLE II.

APPLICANTS FOR RELIEF AS AFFECTED INDIRECTLY BY THE INTEMPERATE HABITS OF OTHERS, BY COLOR.

Name and Location of Organization Reporting.	White Applicants.				Colored Applicants.				Aggregate of Applicants.			
	Condition due to intemperate habits of others.	Condition not due to intemperate habits of others.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total.	Condition due to intemperate habits of others.	Condition not due to intemperate habits of others.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total.	Condition due to intemperate habits of others.	Condition not due to intemperate habits of others.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total.
Charity Organization Society of the city of New York.												
Number.	83	1150	434	1667	1	33	4	38	84	1183	438	1705
Per cent.	4.98	68.99	26.03	100.00	2.63	86.84	10.53	100.00	4.93	69.38	25.69	100.00
Chicago Bureau of Associated Charities, Chicago, Ill.												
Number.	95	938	176	1209	–	19	5	24	95	957	181	1233
Per cent.	7.86	77.58	14.56	100.00	–	79.17	20.83	100.00	7.70	77.62	14.68	100.00
Brooklyn Bureau of Charities, Brooklyn, N. Y.												
Number.	456	3812	468	4736	10	146	13	169	466	3958	481	4905
Per cent.	9.63	80.49	9.88	100.00	5.92	86.39	7.69	100.00	9.50	80.69	9.81	100.00
Charity Organization Society, Baltimore, Md.												
Number.	122	680	39	841	9	217	12	238	131	897	51	1079
Per cent.	14.51	80.85	4.64	100.00	3.78	91.18	5.04	100.00	12.14	83.13	4.73	100.00

RELATIONS OF THE LIQUOR PROBLEM TO POVERTY. — TABLE II., *continued.*

APPLICANTS FOR RELIEF AS AFFECTED INDIRECTLY BY THE INTEMPERATE HABITS OF OTHERS, BY COLOR.

Name and Location of Organization Reporting.		White Applicants.				Colored Applicants.				Aggregate of Applicants.			
		Condition due to intemperate habits of others.	Condition not due to intemperate habits of others.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total.	Condition due to intemperate habits of others.	Condition not due to intemperate habits of others.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total.	Condition due to intemperate habits of others.	Condition not due to intemperate habits of others.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total.
Associated Charities, San Francisco, Cal.	Number.	159	964	413	1536	–	10	–	10	159	974	413	1546
	Per cent.	10.35	62.76	26.89	100.00	–	100.00	–	100.00	10.28	63.00	26.72	100.00
Associated Charities, Cincinnati, Ohio.	Number.	53	1	2102	2156	5	–	331	336	58	1	2433	2492
	Per cent.	2.46	0.05	97.49	100.00	1.49	–	98.51	100.00	2.33	0.04	97.63	100.00
Charity Organization Society, Buffalo, N. Y.	Number.	177	702	384	1263	3	18	1	22	180	720	385	1285
	Per cent.	14.01	55.58	30.41	100.00	13.64	81.82	4.54	100.00	14.01	56.03	29.96	100.00
Associated Charities, Washington, D. C.	Number.	66	367	50	483	56	930	66	1052	122	1297	116	1535
	Per cent.	13.67	75.98	10.35	100.00	5.32	88.40	6.28	100.00	7.95	84.49	7.56	100.00
Charity Organization Society, Louisville, Ky.	Number.	170	268	101	539	8	88	9	105	178	356	110	644
	Per cent.	31.54	49.72	18.74	100.00	7.62	83.81	8.57	100.00	27.64	55.28	17.08	100.00

Society for Organization of Charity, Rochester, N. Y.	Number.	107	216	98	421	2	1	–	3	109	217	98	424
	Per cent.	25.42	51.30	23.28	100.00	66.67	33.33	–	100.00	25.71	51.18	23.11	100.00
Associated Charities, St. Paul, Minn.	Number.	77	776	57	910	2	31	1	34	79	807	58	944
	Per cent.	8.46	85.28	6.26	100.00	5.88	91.18	2.94	100.00	8.37	85.49	6.14	100.00
Society for Organizing Charity, Providence, R. I.	Number.	48	142	135	325	1	19	10	30	49	161	145	355
	Per cent.	14.76	43.70	41.54	100.00	3.33	63.34	33.33	100.00	13.80	45.35	40.85	100.00
Charity Organization Society, Denver, Colo.	Number.	55	626	721	1402	2	10	18	30	57	636	739	1432
	Per cent.	3.92	44.65	51.43	100.00	6.67	33.33	60.00	100.00	3.98	44.41	51.61	100.00
Charity Organization Society, Indianapolis, Ind.	Number.	38	248	417	703	4	52	89	145	42	300	506	848
	Per cent.	5.41	35.28	59.31	100.00	2.76	35.86	61.38	100.00	4.95	35.38	59.67	100.00
Charity Organization Society, Albany, N. Y.	Number.	94	362	42	498	6	13	–	19	100	375	42	517
	Per cent.	18.88	72.69	8.43	100.00	31.58	68.42	–	100.00	19.34	72.53	8.13	100.00
Bureau of Labor and Charities, Syracuse, N. Y.	Number.	74	307	44	425	5	8	–	13	79	315	44	438
	Per cent.	17.41	72.24	10.35	100.00	38.46	61.54	–	100.00	18.04	71.92	10.04	100.00
Associated Charities, Worcester, Mass.	Number.	96	199	39	334	–	10	1	11	96	209	40	345
	Per cent.	28.74	59.58	11.68	100.00	–	90.91	9.09	100.00	27.83	60.58	11.59	100.00
Organized Charities Association, New Haven, Ct.	Number.	82	57	3213	3352	1	1	162	164	83	58	3375	3516
	Per cent.	2.45	1.70	95.85	100.00	0.61	0.61	98.78	100.00	2.36	1.65	95.99	100.00
Associated Charities, Cambridge, Mass.	Number.	106	175	80	361	12	28	9	49	118	203	89	410
	Per cent.	29.36	48.48	22.16	100.00	24.49	57.14	18.37	100.00	28.78	49.51	21.71	100.00

RELATIONS OF THE LIQUOR PROBLEM TO POVERTY.— TABLE II., *continued.*

APPLICANTS FOR RELIEF AS AFFECTED INDIRECTLY BY THE INTEMPERATE HABITS OF OTHERS, BY COLOR.

Name and Location of Organization Reporting.	White Applicants.				Colored Applicants.				Aggregate of Applicants.			
	Condition due to intemperate habits of others.	Condition not due to intemperate habits of others.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total.	Condition due to intemperate habits of others.	Condition not due to intemperate habits of others.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total.	Condition due to intemperate habits of others.	Condition not due to intemperate habits of others.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total.
Associated Charities, Wilmington, Del. Number.	56	203	71	330	10	127	29	166	66	330	100	496
Per cent.	16.97	61.51	21.52	100.00	6.02	76.51	17.47	100.00	13.31	66.53	20.16	100.00
Charity Organization Society, Grand Rapids, Mich. Number.	32	550	64	646	–	16	1	17	32	566	65	663
Per cent.	4.95	85.14	9.91	100.00	–	94.12	5.88	100.00	4.82	85.37	9.81	100.00
Associated Charities, Lynn, Mass. Number.	83	465	69	617	1	15	6	22	84	480	75	639
Per cent.	13.45	75.37	11.18	100.00	4.55	68.18	27.27	100.00	13.15	75.12	11.73	100.00
Charity Organization Society, Lincoln, Neb. Number.	31	460	23	514	2	35	–	37	33	495	23	551
Per cent.	6.03	89.50	4.47	100.00	5.41	94.59	–	100.00	5.99	89.84	4.17	100.00
Charity Organization Society, Hartford, Conn. Number.	77	587	7	671	–	39	1	40	77	626	8	711
Per cent.	11.48	87.48	1.04	100.00	–	97.50	2.50	100.00	10.83	88.04	1.13	100.00

Union Relief Association, Springfield, Mass.	Number.	13	84	28	125	–	13	1	14	13	97	29	139
	Per cent.	10.40	67.20	22.40	100.00	–	92.86	7.14	100.00	9.35	69.79	20.86	100.00
Associated Charities, Somerville, Mass.	Number.	3	44	8	55	–	–	–	–	3	44	8	55
	Per cent.	5.45	80.00	14.55	100.00	–	–	–	–	5.45	80.00	14.55	100.00
Associated Charities, Pawtucket, R. I.	Number.	30	31	30	91	–	1	–	1	30	32	30	92
	Per cent.	32.97	34.06	32.97	100.00	–	100.00	–	100.00	32.61	34.78	32.61	100.00
Associated Charities, Davenport, Ia.	Number.	41	130	128	299	2	10	3	15	43	140	131	314
	Per cent.	13.71	43.48	42.81	100.00	13.33	66.67	20.00	100.00	13.69	44.59	41.72	100.00
Fitchburg Benevolent Union, Fitchburg, Mass.	Number.	16	42	10	68	–	–	–	–	16	42	10	68
	Per cent.	23.53	61.76	14.71	100.00	–	–	–	–	23.53	61.76	14.71	100.00
Associated Charities, Wilmington, N. C.	Number.	27	94	6	127	–	–	–	–	27	94	6	127
	Per cent.	21.26	74.02	4.72	100.00	–	–	–	–	21.26	74.02	4.72	100.00
Charity Organization Society, Bayonne, N. J.	Number.	55	120	56	231	1	6	1	8	56	126	57	239
	Per cent.	23.81	51.95	24.24	100.00	12.50	75.00	12.50	100.00	23.43	52.72	23.85	100.00
Charity Organization Society, New Brunswick, N. J.	Number.	27	6	28	61	1	9	8	18	28	15	36	79
	Per cent.	44.26	9.84	45.90	100.00	5.56	50.00	44.44	100.00	35.44	18.99	45.57	100.00
Charity Organization, New Britain, Ct.	Number.	9	70	18	97	–	–	–	–	9	70	18	97
	Per cent.	9.28	72.16	18.56	100.00	–	–	–	–	9.28	72.16	18.56	100.00

RELATIONS OF THE LIQUOR PROBLEM TO POVERTY.—TABLE III.

APPLICANTS FOR RELIEF AS AFFECTED BY THE PERSONAL USE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS, BY SEX.

Name and Location of Organization Reporting.	Male Applicants.				Female Applicants.				Aggregate of Applicants.			
	Condition due to personal use of liquor.	Condition not due to personal use of liquor.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total.	Condition due to personal use of liquor.	Condition not due to personal use of liquor.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total.	Condition due to personal use of liquor.	Condition not due to personal use of liquor.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total.
Charity Organization Society of the city of New York.												
Number.	169	595	117	881	165	552	107	824	334	1147	224	1705
Per cent.	19.18	67.54	13.28	100.00	20.02	66.99	12.99	100.00	19.59	67.27	13.14	100.00
Chicago Bureau of Associated Charities, Chicago, Ill.												
Number.	168	476	100	744	66	369	54	489	234	845	154	1233
Per cent.	22.58	63.98	13.44	100.00	13.50	75.46	11.04	100.00	18.98	68.53	12.49	100.00
Brooklyn Bureau of Charities, Brooklyn, N. Y. Number.	480	1910	143	2533	257	2019	96	2372	737	3929	239	4905
Per cent.	18.95	75.40	5.65	100.00	10.83	85.12	4.05	100.00	15.03	80.10	4.87	100.00
Charity Organization Society, Baltimore, Md. Number.	70	299	17	386	49	625	19	693	119	924	36	1079
Per cent.	18.14	77.46	4.40	100.00	7.07	90.19	2.74	100.00	11.03	85.63	3.34	100.00

Associated Charities, San Francisco, Cal.	Number.	157	380	32	569	163	768	46	977	320	1148	78	1546
	Per cent.	27.59	66.79	5.62	100.00	16.68	78.61	4.71	100.00	20.70	74.26	5.04	100.00
Associated Charities, Cincinnati, Ohio.	Number.	304	1620	20	1944	38	508	2	548	342	2128	22	2492
	Per cent.	15.64	83.33	1.03	100.00	6.93	92.70	0.37	100.00	13.72	85.40	0.88	100.00
Charity Organization Society, Buffalo, N. Y.	Number.	215	501	28	744	59	459	23	541	274	960	51	1285
	Per cent.	28.90	67.34	3.76	100.00	10.91	84.84	4.25	100.00	21.32	74.71	3.97	100.00
Associated Charities, Washington, D. C.	Number.	148	397	13	558	76	877	24	977	224	1274	37	1535
	Per cent.	26.52	71.15	2.33	100.00	7.78	89.76	2.46	100.00	14.59	83.00	2.41	100.00
Charity Organization Society, Louisville, Ky.	Number.	89	133	1	223	57	357	7	421	146	490	8	644
	Per cent.	39.91	59.64	0.45	100.00	13.54	84.80	1.66	100.00	22.67	76.09	1.24	100.00
Society for Organization of Charity, Rochester, N. Y.	Number.	34	98	8	140	59	214	11	284	93	312	19	424
	Per cent.	24.29	70.00	5.71	100.00	20.78	75.35	3.87	100.00	21.93	73.59	4.48	100.00
Associated Charities, St. Paul, Minn.	Number.	172	449	23	644	22	266	12	300	194	715	35	944
	Per cent.	26.71	69.72	3.57	100.00	7.33	88.67	4.00	100.00	20.55	75.74	3.71	100.00
Society for Organizing Charity, Providence, R. I.	Number.	64	84	15	163	51	134	7	192	115	218	22	355
	Per cent.	39.27	51.53	9.20	100.00	26.56	69.79	3.65	100.00	32.39	61.41	6.20	100.00
Charity Organization Society, Denver, Colo.	Number.	154	466	123	743	24	520	145	689	178	986	268	1432
	Per cent.	20.73	62.72	16.55	100.00	3.48	75.47	21.05	100.00	12.43	68.85	18.72	100.00
Charity Organization Society, Indianapolis, Ind.	Number.	87	205	56	348	92	322	86	500	179	527	142	848
	Per cent.	25.00	58.91	16.09	100.00	18.40	64.40	17.20	100.00	21.11	62.14	16.75	100.00

RELATIONS OF THE LIQUOR PROBLEM TO POVERTY. — TABLE III., *continued.*

APPLICANTS FOR RELIEF AS AFFECTED BY THE PERSONAL USE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS, BY SEX.

Name and Location of Organization Reporting.		Male Applicants.				Female Applicants.				Aggregate of Applicants.			
		Condition due to personal use of liquor.	Condition not due to personal use of liquor.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total.	Condition due to personal use of liquor.	Condition not due to personal use of liquor.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total.	Condition due to personal use of liquor.	Condition not due to personal use of liquor.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total.
Charity Organization Society, Albany, N. Y.	Number.	103	145	2	250	47	219	1	267	150	364	3	517
	Per cent.	41.20	58.00	0.80	100.00	17.60	82.02	0.38	100.00	29.01	70.41	0.58	100.00
Bureau of Labor and Charities, Syracuse, N. Y.	Number.	67	189	24	280	16	136	6	158	83	325	30	438
	Per cent.	23.93	67.50	8.57	100.00	10.13	86.07	3.80	100.00	18.95	74.20	6.85	100.00
Associated Charities, Worcester, Mass.	Number.	25	33	21	79	58	200	8	266	83	233	29	345
	Per cent.	31.65	41.77	26.58	100.00	21.80	75.19	3.01	100.00	24.06	67.54	8.40	100.00
Organized Charities Association, New Haven, Conn.	Number.	488	2669	98	3255	19	204	38	261	507	2873	136	3516
	Per cent.	14.99	82.00	3.01	100.00	7.28	78.16	14.56	100.00	14.42	81.71	3.87	100.00
Associated Charities, Cambridge, Mass.	Number.	85	88	57	230	29	147	4	180	114	235	61	410
	Per cent.	36.96	38.26	24.78	100.00	16.11	81.67	2.22	100.00	27.80	57.32	14.88	100.00

Associated Charities, Wilmington, Del.	Number.	48	84	17	149	47	268	32	347	95	352	49	496
	Per cent.	32.21	56.38	11.41	100.00	13.55	77.23	9.22	100.00	19.15	70.97	9.88	100.00
Charity Organization Society, Grand Rapids, Mich.	Number.	182	410	42	634	3	25	1	29	185	435	43	663
	Per cent.	28.71	64.67	6.62	100.00	10.34	86.21	3.45	100.00	27.90	65.61	6.49	100.00
Associated Charities, Lynn, Mass.	Number.	152	224	–	376	30	233	–	263	182	457	–	639
	Per cent.	40.43	59.57	–	100.00	11.41	88.59	–	100.00	28.48	71.52	–	100.00
Charity Organization Society, Lincoln, Neb.	Number.	93	318	5	416	8	126	1	135	101	444	6	551
	Per cent.	22.36	76.44	1.20	100.00	5.93	93.33	0.74	100.00	18.33	80.58	1.09	100.00
Charity Organization Society, Hartford, Ct.	Number.	202	222	52	476	29	203	3	235	231	425	55	711
	Per cent.	42.44	46.64	10.92	100.00	12.34	86.38	1.28	100.00	32.49	59.77	7.74	100.00
Union Relief Association, Springfield, Mass.	Number.	39	51	3	93	2	42	2	46	41	93	5	139
	Per cent.	41.93	54.84	3.23	100.00	4.35	91.30	4.35	100.00	29.49	66.91	3.60	100.00
Associated Charities, Somerville, Mass.	Number.	7	22	–	29	3	23	–	26	10	45	–	55
	Per cent.	24.14	75.86	–	100.00	11.54	88.46	–	100.00	18.18	81.82	–	100.00
Associated Charities, Pawtucket, R. I.	Number.	35	29	–	64	10	18	–	28	45	47	–	92
	Per cent.	54.69	45.31	–	100.00	35.71	64.29	–	100.00	51.09	48.91	–	100.00
Associated Charities, Davenport, Ia.	Number.	36	144	32	212	8	84	10	102	44	228	42	314
	Per cent.	16.98	67.92	15.10	100.00	7.84	82.35	9.81	100.00	14.01	72.61	13.38	100.00
Fitchburg Benevolent Union, Fitchburg, Mass.	Number.	3	19	1	23	–	40	5	45	3	59	6	68
	Per cent.	13.04	82.61	4.35	100.00	–	88.89	11.11	100.00	4.41	86.77	8.82	100.00

RELATIONS OF THE LIQUOR PROBLEM TO POVERTY. — TABLE III., *continued.*

APPLICANTS FOR RELIEF AS AFFECTED BY THE PERSONAL USE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS, BY SEX.

Name and Location of Organization Reporting.		Male Applicants.				Female Applicants.				Aggregate of Applicants.			
		Condition due to personal use of liquor.	Condition not due to personal use of liquor.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total.	Condition due to personal use of liquor.	Condition not due to personal use of liquor.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total.	Condition due to personal use of liquor.	Condition not due to personal use of liquor.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total.
Associated Charities, Wilmington, N. C.	Number.	5	11	1	17	1	105	4	110	6	116	5	127
	Per cent.	29.41	64.71	5.88	100.00	0.91	95.45	3.64	100.00	4.72	91.34	3.94	100.00
Charity Organization Society, Bayonne, N. J.	Number.	53	32	9	94	52	86	7	145	105	118	16	239
	Per cent.	56.38	34.04	9.58	100.00	35.86	59.31	4.83	100.00	43.93	49.37	6.70	100.00
Charity Organization Society, New Brunswick, N. J.	Number.	19	25	3	47	16	16	–	32	35	41	3	79
	Per cent.	40.43	53.19	6.38	100.00	50.00	50.00	–	100.00	44.30	51.90	3.80	100.00
Charity Organization, New Britain, Ct.	Number.	13	60	1	74	2	21	–	23	15	81	1	97
	Per cent.	17.57	81.08	1.35	100.00	8.70	91.30	–	100.00	15.47	83.50	1.03	100.00

RELATIONS OF THE LIQUOR PROBLEM TO POVERTY.—TABLE IV.

APPLICANTS FOR RELIEF AS AFFECTED INDIRECTLY BY THE INTEMPERATE HABITS OF OTHERS, BY SEX.

Name and Location of Organization Reporting.	Male Applicants.				Female Applicants.				Aggregate of Applicants.			
	Condition due to intemperate habits of others.	Condition not due to intemperate habits of others.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total.	Condition due to intemperate habits of others.	Condition not due to intemperate habits of others.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total.	Condition due to intemperate habits of others.	Condition not due to intemperate habits of others.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total.
Charity Organization Society of the city of New York.												
Number.	6	630	245	881	78	553	193	824	84	1183	438	1705
Per cent.	0.68	71.51	27.81	100.00	9.47	67.11	23.42	100.00	4.93	69.38	25.69	100.00
Chicago Bureau of Associated Charities, Chicago, Ill.												
Number.	23	599	122	744	72	358	59	489	95	957	181	1233
Per cent.	3.09	80.51	16.40	100.00	14.72	73.21	12.07	100.00	7.70	77.62	14.68	100.00
Brooklyn Bureau of Charities, Brooklyn, N. Y. Number.	96	2168	269	2533	370	1790	212	2372	466	3958	481	4905
Per cent.	3.79	85.59	10.62	100.00	15.60	75.46	8.94	100.00	9.50	80.69	9.81	100.00
Charity Organization Society, Baltimore, Md. Number.	20	338	28	386	111	559	23	693	131	897	51	1079
Per cent.	5.18	87.57	7.25	100.00	16.02	80.66	3.32	100.00	12.14	83.13	4.73	100.00

Associated Charities, San Francisco, Cal.	Number.	21	367	181	569	138	607	232	977	159	974	413	1546
	Per cent.	3.69	64.50	31.81	100.00	14.12	62.13	23.75	100.00	10.28	63.00	26.72	100.00
Associated Charities, Cincinnati, Ohio.	Number.	49	1	1894	1944	9	–	539	548	58	1	2433	2492
	Per cent.	2.52	0.05	97.43	100.00	1.64	–	98.36	100.00	2.33	0.04	97.63	100.00
Charity Organization Society, Buffalo, N. Y.	Number.	56	456	232	744	124	264	153	541	180	720	385	1285
	Per cent.	7.53	61.29	31.18	100.00	22.92	48.80	28.28	100.00	14.01	56.03	29.96	100.00
Associated Charities, Washington, D. C.	Number.	9	489	60	558	113	808	56	977	122	1297	116	1535
	Per cent.	1.61	87.64	10.75	100.00	11.56	82.71	5.73	100.00	7.95	84.49	7.56	100.00
Charity Organization Society, Louisville, Ky.	Number.	14	142	67	223	164	214	43	421	178	356	110	644
	Per cent.	6.28	63.68	30.04	100.00	38.96	50.83	10.21	100.00	27.64	55.28	17.08	100.00
Society for Organization of Charity, Rochester, N. Y.	Number.	15	83	42	140	94	134	56	284	109	217	98	424
	Per cent.	10.72	59.28	30.00	100.00	33.10	47.18	19.72	100.00	25.71	51.18	23.11	100.00
Associated Charities, St. Paul, Minn.	Number.	18	603	23	644	61	204	35	300	79	807	58	944
	Per cent.	2.80	93.63	3.57	100.00	20.33	68.00	11.67	100.00	8.37	85.49	6.14	100.00
Society for Organizing Charity, Providence, R. I.	Number.	10	69	84	163	39	92	61	192	49	161	145	355
	Per cent.	6.14	42.33	51.53	100.00	20.31	47.92	31.77	100.00	13.80	45.35	40.85	100.00
Charity Organization Society, Denver, Colo.	Number.	8	288	447	743	49	348	292	689	57	636	739	1432
	Per cent.	1.08	38.76	60.16	100.00	7.11	50.51	42.38	100.00	3.98	44.41	51.61	100.00
Charity Organization Society, Indianapolis, Ind.	Number.	13	113	222	348	29	187	284	500	42	300	506	848
	Per cent.	3.74	32.47	63.79	100.00	5.80	37.40	56.80	100.00	4.95	35.38	59.67	100.00

RELATIONS OF THE LIQUOR PROBLEM TO POVERTY. — TABLE IV., *continued.*

APPLICANTS FOR RELIEF AS AFFECTED INDIRECTLY BY THE INTEMPERATE HABITS OF OTHERS, BY SEX.

Name and Location of Organization Reporting.		Male Applicants.				Female Applicants.				Aggregate of Applicants.			
		Condition due to intemperate habits of others.	Condition not due to intemperate habits of others.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total.	Condition due to intemperate habits of others.	Condition not due to intemperate habits of others.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total.	Condition due to intemperate habits of others.	Condition not due to intemperate habits of others.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total.
Charity Organization Society, Albany, N. Y.	Number.	18	197	35	250	82	178	7	267	100	375	42	517
	Per cent.	7.20	78.80	14.00	100.00	30.71	66.67	2.62	100.00	19.34	72.53	8.13	100.00
Bureau of Labor and Charities, Syracuse, N. Y.	Number.	26	219	35	280	53	96	9	158	79	315	44	438
	Per cent.	9.29	78.21	12.50	100.00	33.54	60.76	5.70	100.00	18.04	71.92	10.04	100.00
Associated Charities, Worcester, Mass.	Number.	5	45	29	79	91	164	11	266	96	209	40	345
	Per cent.	6.33	56.96	36.71	100.00	34.21	62.78	3.01	100.00	27.83	60.58	11.59	100.00
Organized Charities Association, New Haven, Ct.	Number.	72	55	3128	3255	11	3	247	261	83	58	3375	3516
	Per cent.	2.21	1.69	96.10	100.00	4.21	1.15	94.64	100.00	2.36	1.65	95.99	100.00
Associated Charities, Cambridge, Mass.	Number.	36	113	81	230	82	90	8	180	118	203	89	410
	Per cent.	15.65	49.13	35.22	100.00	45.56	50.00	4.44	100.00	28.78	49.51	21.71	100.00

Associated Charities, Wilmington, Del.	Number.	3	97	49	149	63	233	51	347	66	330	100	496
	Per cent.	2.01	65.10	32.89	100.00	18.15	67.15	14.70	100.00	13.31	66.53	20.16	100.00
Charity Organization Society, Grand Rapids, Mich.	Number.	24	546	64	634	8	20	1	29	32	566	65	663
	Per cent.	3.79	86.12	10.09	100.00	27.59	68.96	3.45	100.00	4.82	85.37	9.81	100.00
Associated Charities, Lynn, Mass.	Number.	21	300	55	376	63	180	20	263	84	480	75	639
	Per cent.	5.59	79.78	14.63	100.00	23.95	68.44	7.61	100.00	13.15	75.12	11.73	100.00
Charity Organization Society, Lincoln, Neb.	Number.	6	390	20	416	27	105	3	135	33	495	23	551
	Per cent.	1.44	93.75	4.81	100.00	20.00	77.78	2.22	100.00	5.99	89.84	4.17	100.00
Charity Organization Society, Hartford, Conn.	Number.	39	432	5	476	38	194	3	235	77	626	8	711
	Per cent.	8.19	90.76	1.05	100.00	16.17	82.55	1.28	100.00	10.83	88.04	1.13	100.00
Union Relief Association, Springfield, Mass.	Number.	1	66	26	93	12	31	3	46	13	97	29	139
	Per cent.	1.07	70.97	27.96	100.00	26.09	67.39	6.52	100.00	9.35	69.79	20.86	100.00
Associated Charities, Somerville, Mass.	Number.	1	25	3	29	2	19	5	26	3	44	8	55
	Per cent.	3.45	86.21	10.34	100.00	7.69	73.08	19.23	100.00	5.45	80.00	14.55	100.00
Associated Charities, Pawtucket, R. I.	Number.	14	22	28	64	16	10	2	28	30	32	30	92
	Per cent.	21.87	34.38	43.75	100.00	57.14	35.72	7.14	100.00	32.61	34.78	32.61	100.00
Associated Charities, Davenport, Ia.	Number.	15	86	111	212	28	54	20	102	43	140	131	314
	Per cent.	7.08	40.56	52.36	100.00	27.45	52.94	19.61	100.00	13.69	44.59	41.72	100.00
Fitchburg Benevolent Union, Fitchburg, Mass.	Number.	–	20	3	23	16	22	7	45	16	42	10	68
	Per cent.	–	86.96	13.04	100.00	35.56	48.89	15.55	100.00	23.53	61.76	14.71	100.00

RELATIONS OF THE LIQUOR PROBLEM TO POVERTY.— TABLE IV., *continued.*

APPLICANTS FOR RELIEF AS AFFECTED INDIRECTLY BY THE INTEMPERATE HABITS OF OTHERS, BY SEX.

Name and Location of Organization Reporting.	Male Applicants.				Female Applicants.				Aggregate of Applicants.			
	Condition due to intemperate habits of others.	Condition not due to intemperate habits of others.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total.	Condition due to intemperate habits of others.	Condition not due to intemperate habits of others.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total.	Condition due to intemperate habits of others.	Condition not due to intemperate habits of others.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total.
Associated Charities, Wilmington, N. C. Number.	–	16	1	17	27	78	5	110	27	94	6	127
Per cent.	–	94.12	5.88	100.00	24.54	70.91	4.54	100.00	21.26	74.02	4.72	100.00
Charity Organization Society, Bayonne, N. J. Number.	10	49	35	94	46	77	22	145	56	126	57	239
Per cent.	10.64	52.13	37.23	100.00	31.72	53.11	15.17	100.00	23.43	52.72	23.85	100.00
Charity Organization Society, New Brunswick, N. J. Number.	12	13	22	47	16	2	14	32	28	15	36	79
Per cent.	25.53	27.66	46.81	100.00	50.00	6.25	43.75	100.00	35.44	18.99	45.57	100.00
Charity Organization, New Britain, Ct. Number.	2	56	16	74	7	14	2	23	9	70	18	97
Per cent.	2.70	75.68	21.62	100.00	30.43	60.87	8.70	100.00	9.28	72.16	18.56	100.00

RELATIONS OF THE LIQUOR PROBLEM TO POVERTY. — TABLE XIII.

RESIDENT AND NON-RESIDENT APPLICANTS FOR RELIEF AS AFFECTED BY THE USE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS.

Name and Location of Organization Reporting.		Condition due to intemperate habits of applicants, parents, guardians, or others.	Condition not due to intemperate habits of applicants, parents, guardians, or others.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total applicants.
Charity Organization Society of the City of New York.					
Resident.	Number.	342	708	130	1180
	Per cent.	28.98	60.00	11.02	69.21
Non-resident.	Number.	52	397	76	525
	Per cent.	9.90	75.62	14.48	30.79
Total.	Number.	394	1105	206	1705
	Per cent.	23.11	64.81	12.08	100.00
Chicago Bureau of Associated Charities, Chicago, Ill.					
Resident.	Number.	303	773	139	1215
	Per cent.	24.94	63.62	11.44	98.54
Non-resident.	Number.	1	5	12	18
	Per cent.	5.55	27.78	66.67	1.46
Total.	Number.	304	778	151	1233
	Per cent.	24.65	63.10	12.25	100.00
Brooklyn Bureau of Charities, Brooklyn, N. Y.					
Resident.	Number.	1029	3306	213	4548
	Per cent.	22.63	72.69	4.68	92.72
Non-resident.	Number.	96	228	33	357
	Per cent.	26.89	63.87	9.24	7.28
Total.	Number.	1125	3534	246	4905
	Per cent.	22.94	72.05	5.01	100.00

RESIDENT AND NON-RESIDENT APPLICANTS FOR RELIEF AS AFFECTED BY THE USE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS.

Name and Location of Organization Reporting.		Condition due to intemperate habits of applicants, parents, guardians, or others.	Condition not due to intemperate habits of applicants, parents, guardians, or others.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total applicants.
Charity Organization Society, Baltimore, Md.					
Resident.	Number.	227	813	36	1076
	Per cent.	21.10	75.56	3.34	99.72
Non-resident.	Number.	–	3	–	3
	Per cent.	–	100.00	–	0.28
Total.	Number.	227	816	36	1079
	Per cent.	21.04	75.62	3.34	100.00
Associated Charities, San Francisco, Cal.					
Resident.	Number.	443	993	74	1510
	Per cent.	29.34	65.76	4.90	97.67
Non-resident.	Number.	5	27	4	36
	Per cent.	13.89	75.00	11.11	2.33
Total.	Number.	448	1020	78	1546
	Per cent.	28.98	65.98	5.04	100.00
Associated Charities, Cincinnati, Ohio.					
Resident.	Number.	360	2097	21	2478
	Per cent.	14.53	84.62	0.85	99.44
Non-resident.	Number.	3	10	1	14
	Per cent.	21.43	71.43	7.14	0.56
Total.	Number.	363	2107	22	2492
	Per cent.	14.57	84.55	0.88	100.00

RELATIONS OF THE LIQUOR PROBLEM TO POVERTY. — TABLE XIII., *continued.*

RESIDENT AND NON-RESIDENT APPLICANTS FOR RELIEF AS AFFECTED BY THE USE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS.

Name and Location of Organization Reporting.		Condition due to intemperate habits of applicants, parents, guardians, or others.	Condition not due to intemperate habits of applicants, parents, guardians, or others.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total applicants.
Charity Organization Society, Buffalo, N. Y.					
Resident.	Number.	396	804	49	1249
	Per cent.	31.71	64.37	3.92	97.20
Non-resident.	Number.	7	27	2	36
	Per cent.	19.44	75.00	5.56	2.80
Total.	Number.	403	831	51	1285
	Per cent.	31.36	64.67	3.97	100.00
Associated Charities, Washington, D. C.					
Resident.	Number.	322	1168	35	1525
	Per cent.	21.11	76.59	2.30	99.35
Non-resident.	Number.	2	6	2	10
	Per cent.	20.00	60.00	20.00	0.65
Total.	Number.	324	1174	37	15.35
	Per cent.	21.11	76.48	2.41	100.00
Charity Organization Society, Louisville, Ky.					
Resident.	Number.	271	342	6	619
	Per cent.	43.78	55.25	0.97	96.12
Non-resident.	Number.	9	14	2	25
	Per cent.	36.00	56.00	8.00	3.88
Total.	Number.	280	356	8	644
	Per cent.	43.48	55.28	1.24	100.00

RESIDENT AND NON-RESIDENT APPLICANTS FOR RELIEF AS AFFECTED BY THE USE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS.

Name and Location of Organization Reporting.		Condition due to intemperate habits of applicants, parents, guardians, or others.	Condition not due to intemperate habits of applicants, parents, guardians, or others.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total applicants.
Society for Organization of Charity, Rochester, N. Y.					
Resident.	Number.	140	236	15	391
	Per cent.	35.80	60.36	3.84	92.22
Non-resident.	Number.	9	20	4	33
	Per cent.	27.27	60.61	12.12	7.78
Total.	Number.	149	256	19	424
	Per cent.	35.14	60.38	4.48	100.00
Associated Charities, St. Paul, Minn.					
Resident.	Number.	229	589	23	841
	Per cent.	27.23	70.04	2.73	89.09
Non-resident.	Number.	25	66	12	103
	Per cent.	24.27	64.08	11.65	10.91
Total.	Number.	254	655	35	944
	Per cent.	26.91	69.38	3.71	100.00
Society for Organizing Charity, Providence, R. I.					
Resident.	Number.	124	157	18	299
	Per cent.	41.47	52.51	6.02	84.23
Non-resident.	Number.	25	27	4	56
	Per cent.	44.64	48.22	7.14	15.77
Total.	Number.	149	184	22	355
	Per cent.	41.97	51.83	6.20	100.00

RESIDENT AND NON-RESIDENT APPLICANTS FOR RELIEF AS AFFECTED BY THE USE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS.

Name and Location of Organization Reporting.		Condition due to intemperate habits of applicants, parents, guardians, or others.	Condition not due to intemperate habits of applicants, parents, guardians, or others.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total applicants.
Charity Organization Society, Denver, Col.					
Resident.	Number.	128	763	187	1078
	Per cent.	11.87	70.78	17.35	75.28
Non-resident.	Number.	101	172	81	354
	Per cent.	28.53	48.59	22.88	24.72
Total.	Number.	229	935	268	1432
	Per cent.	15.99	65.29	18.72	100.00
Charity Organization Society, Indianapolis, Ind.					
Resident.	Number.	188	445	106	739
	Per cent.	25.44	60.22	14.34	87.15
Non-resident.	Number.	10	63	36	109
	Per cent.	9.17	57.80	33.03	12.85
Total.	Number.	198	508	142	848
	Per cent.	23.35	59.91	16.74	100.00
Charity Organization Society, Albany, N. Y.					
Resident.	Number.	196	242	1	439
	Per cent.	44.65	55.12	0.23	84.91
Non-resident.	Number.	16	60	2	78
	Per cent.	20.51	76.93	2.56	15.09
Total.	Number.	212	302	3	517
	Per cent.	41.01	58.41	0.58	100.00

TABLE XIII., *continued.*

RESIDENT AND NON-RESIDENT APPLICANTS FOR RELIEF AS AFFECTED BY THE USE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS.

Name and Location of Organization Reporting.		Condition due to intemperate habits of applicants, parents, guardians, or others.	Condition not due to intemperate habits of applicants, parents, guardians, or others.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total applicants.
Bureau of Labor and Charities, Syracuse, N. Y.					
Resident.	Number.	135	193	11	339
	Per cent.	39.82	56.93	3.25	77.39
Non-resident.	Number.	15	68	16	99
	Per cent.	15.15	68.69	16.16	22.61
Total.	Number.	150	261	27	438
	Per cent.	34.25	59.59	6.16	100.00
Associated Charities, Worcester, Mass.					
Resident.	Number.	144	163	10	317
	Per cent.	45.43	51.42	3.15	91.88
Non-resident.	Number.	4	5	19	28
	Per cent.	14.28	17.86	67.86	8.12
Total.	Number.	148	168	29	345
	Per cent.	42.90	48.69	8.41	100.00
Organized Charities Association, New Haven, Ct.					
Resident.	Number.	63	384	75	522
	Per cent.	12.07	73.56	14.37	14.85
Non-resident.	Number.	461	2473	60	2994
	Per cent.	15.40	82.60	2.00	85.15
Total.	Number.	524	2857	135	3516
	Per cent.	14.90	81.26	3.84	100.00

RESIDENT AND NON-RESIDENT APPLICANTS FOR RELIEF AS AFFECTED BY THE USE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS.

Name and Location of Organization Reporting.		Condition due to intemperate habits of applicants, parents, guardians, or others.	Condition not due to intemperate habits of applicants, parents, guardians, or others.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total applicants.
Associated Charities, Cambridge, Mass.					
Resident.	Number.	174	157	9	340
	Per cent.	51.18	46.17	2.65	82.93
Non-resident.	Number.	13	5	52	70
	Per cent.	18.57	7.14	74.29	17.07
Total.	Number.	187	162	61	410
	Per cent.	45.61	39.52	14.87	100.00
Associated Charities, Wilmington, Del.					
Resident.	Number.	134	309	36	479
	Per cent.	27.97	64.51	7.52	96.57
Non-resident.	Number.	2	5	10	17
	Per cent.	11.77	29.41	58.82	3.43
Total.	Number.	136	314	46	496
	Per cent.	27.42	63.31	9.27	100.00
Charity Organization Society, Grand Rapids, Mich.					
Resident.	Number.	53	141	8	202
	Per cent.	26.24	69.80	3.96	30.47
Non-resident.	Number.	153	273	35	461
	Per cent.	33.19	59.22	7.59	69.53
Total.	Number.	206	414	43	663
	Per cent.	31.07	62.44	6.49	100.00

RESIDENT AND NON-RESIDENT APPLICANTS FOR RELIEF AS AFFECTED BY THE USE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS.

Name and Location of Organization Reporting.		Condition due to intemperate habits of applicants, parents, guardians, or others.	Condition not due to intemperate habits of applicants, parents, guardians, or others.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total applicants.
Associated Charities, Lynn, Mass.					
Resident.	Number.	238	393	–	631
	Per cent.	37.72	62.28	–	98.75
Non-resident.	Number.	4	4	–	8
	Per cent.	50.00	50.00	–	1.25
Total.	Number.	242	397	–	639
	Per cent.	37.87	62.13	–	100.00
Charity Organization Society, Lincoln, Neb.					
Resident.	Number.	114	353	1	468
	Per cent.	24.36	75.43	0.21	84.94
Non-resident.	Number.	19	59	5	83
	Per cent.	22.89	71.09	6.02	15.06
Total.	Number.	133	412	6	551
	Per cent.	24.14	74.77	1.09	100.00
Charity Organization Society, Hartford, Ct.					
Resident.	Number.	178	316	6	500
	Per cent.	35.60	63.20	1.20	70.32
Non-resident.	Number.	92	70	49	211
	Per cent.	43.60	33.18	23.22	29.68
Total.	Number.	270	386	55	711
	Per cent.	37.97	54.29	7.74	100.00

TABLE XIII., *continued.*

RESIDENT AND NON-RESIDENT APPLICANTS FOR RELIEF AS AFFECTED BY THE USE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS.

Name and Location of Organization Reporting.		Condition due to intemperate habits of applicants, parents, guardians, or others.	Condition not due to intemperate habits of applicants, parents, guardians, or others.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total applicants.
Union Relief Association, Springfield, Mass.					
Resident.	Number.	49	72	1	122
	Per cent.	40.16	59.02	0.82	87.77
Non-resident.	Number.	4	9	4	17
	Per cent.	23.53	52.94	23.53	12.23
Total.	Number.	53	81	5	139
	Per cent.	38.13	58.27	3.60	100.00
Associated Charities, Somerville, Mass.					
Resident.	Number.	10	36	–	46
	Per cent.	21.74	78.26	–	83.64
Non-resident.	Number.	1	8	–	9
	Per cent.	11.11	88.89	–	16.36
Total.	Number.	11	44	–	55
	Per cent.	20.00	80.00	–	100.00
Associated Charities, Pawtucket, R. I.					
Resident.	Number.	50	36	–	86
	Per cent.	58.14	41.86	–	93.48
Non-resident.	Number.	3	3	–	6
	Per cent.	50.00	50.00	–	6.52
Total.	Number.	53	39	–	92
	Per cent.	57.61	42.39	–	100.00

RESIDENT AND NON-RESIDENT APPLICANTS FOR RELIEF AS AFFECTED BY THE USE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS.

Name and Location of Organization Reporting.		Condition due to intemperate habits of applicants, parents, guardians, or others.	Condition not due to intemperate habits of applicants, parents, guardians, or others.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total applicants.
Associated Charities, Davenport, Ia.					
Resident.	Number.	55	96	8	159
	Per cent.	34.59	60.38	5.03	50.64
Non-resident.	Number.	28	93	34	155
	Per cent.	18.06	60.00	21.94	49.36
Total.	Number.	83	189	42	314
	Per cent.	26.43	60.19	13.38	100.00
Fitchburg Benevolent Union, Fitchburg, Mass.					
Resident.	Number.	13	37	5	55
	Per cent.	23.64	67.27	9.09	80.88
Non-resident.	Number.	5	7	1	13
	Per cent.	38.46	53.85	7.69	19.12
Total.	Number.	18	44	6	68
	Per cent.	26.47	64.71	8.82	100.00
Associated Charities, Wilmington, N. C.					
Resident.	Number.	33	89	5	127
	Per cent.	25.98	70.08	3.94	100.00
Non-resident.	Number.	–	–	–	–
	Per cent.	–	–	–	–
Total.	Number.	33	89	5	127
	Per cent.	25.98	70.08	3.94	100.00

TABLE XIII., *continued.*

RESIDENT AND NON-RESIDENT APPLICANTS FOR RELIEF AS AFFECTED BY THE USE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS.

Name and Location of Organization Reporting.		Condition due to intemperate habits of applicants, parents, guardians, or others.	Condition not due to intemperate habits of applicants, parents, guardians, or others.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total applicants.
Charity Organization Society, Bayonne, N. J.					
Resident.	Number.	128	84	6	218
	Per cent.	58.72	38.53	2.75	91.21
Non-resident.	Number.	1	10	10	21
	Per cent.	4.76	47.62	47.62	8.79
Total.	Number.	129	94	16	239
	Per cent.	53.97	39.33	6.70	100.00
Charity Organization Society, New Brunswick, N. J.					
Resident.	Number.	38	16	3	57
	Per cent.	66.67	28.07	5.26	72.15
Non-resident.	Number.	5	17	–	22
	Per cent.	22.73	77.27	–	27.85
Total.	Number.	43	33	3	79
	Per cent.	54.43	41.77	3.80	100.00
Charity Organization, New Britain, Ct.					
Resident.	Number.	21	75	1	97
	Per cent.	21.65	77.32	1.03	100.00
Non-resident.	Number.	–	–	–	–
	Per cent.	–	–	–	–
Total.	Number.	21	75	1	97
	Per cent.	21.65	77.32	1.03	100.00

RELATIONS OF THE LIQUOR PROBLEM TO PAUPERISM.—TABLE III.

PAUPERISM IN ALMSHOUSES AS AFFECTED BY THE PERSONAL USE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS, BY SEX.

Name and Location of Institution Reporting.	Male Paupers.				Female Paupers.				Aggregate of Paupers.			
	Condition due to personal use of liquor.	Condition not due to personal use of liquor.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total.	Condition due to personal use of liquor.	Condition not due to personal use of liquor.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total.	Condition due to personal use of liquor.	Condition not due to personal use of liquor.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total.
Town Farm, Bridgeport, Ct.												
Number.	36	39	–	75	6	27	–	33	42	66	–	108
Per cent.	48.00	52.00	–	100.00	18.18	81.82	–	100.00	38.89	61.11	–	100.00
Almshouse, New London, Ct.												
Number.	14	11	–	25	9	16	–	25	23	27	–	50
Per cent.	56.00	44.00	–	100.00	36.00	64.00	–	100.00	46.00	54.00	–	100.00
Cook Co. Almshouse, Ill.												
Number.	192	600	12	804	20	307	12	339	212	907	24	1143
Per cent.	23.88	74.63	1.49	100.00	5.90	90.56	3.54	100.00	18.55	79.35	2.10	100.00
Almshouse, Marion Co., Ind.												
Number.	60	59	67	186	7	20	27	54	67	79	94	240
Per cent.	32.26	31.72	36.02	100.00	12.96	37.04	50.00	100.00	27.92	32.92	39.16	100.00
Bay View Asylum, Baltimore, Md.												
Number.	171	166	18	355	48	131	6	185	219	297	24	540
Per cent.	48.17	46.76	5.07	100.00	25.95	70.81	3.24	100.00	40.56	55.00	4.44	100.00

Poor Farm, Hennepin Co., Minn.												
Number.	28	28	1	57	1	5	1	7	29	33	2	64
Per cent.	49.12	49.12	1.76	100.00	14.28	71.43	14.29	100.00	45.31	51.56	3.13	100.00
Almshouse, Ramsey Co., Minn.												
Number.	52	19	7	78	4	9	–	13	56	28	7	91
Per cent.	66.67	24.36	8.97	100.00	30.77	69.23	–	100.00	61.54	30.77	7.69	100.00
County Farm, Hillsboro Co., N. H.												
Number.	59	94	8	161	23	140	4	167	82	234	12	328
Per cent.	36.65	58.38	4.97	100.00	13.77	83.83	2.40	100.00	25.00	71.34	3.66	100.00
County Farm, Merrimack Co., N. H.												
Number.	46	73	2	121	3	71	1	75	49	144	3	196
Per cent.	38.02	60.33	1.65	100.00	4.00	94.67	1.33	100.00	25.00	73.47	1.53	100.00
Burlington Co. Almshouse, Burlington, N. J.												
Number.	42	16	7	65	10	51	15	76	52	67	22	141
Per cent.	64.62	24.62	10.76	100.00	13.16	67.10	19.74	100.00	36.88	47.52	15.60	100.00
Camden Co. Almshouse, N. J.												
Number.	19	37	–	56	5	42	–	47	24	79	–	103
Per cent.	33.93	66.07	–	100.00	10.64	89.36	–	100.00	23.30	76.70	–	100.00
Elizabeth City Almshouse, N. J.												
Number.	16	23	–	39	2	9	–	11	18	32	–	50
Per cent.	41.03	58.97	–	100.00	18.18	81.82	–	100.00	36.00	64.00	–	100.00
East Orange Almshouse, N. J.												
Number.	12	12	–	24	–	3	–	3	12	15	–	27
Per cent.	50.00	50.00	–	100.00	–	100.00	–	100.00	44.44	55.56	–	100.00
Snake Hill Almshouse, Hudson Co., N. J.												
Number.	140	138	–	278	25	127	36	188	165	265	36	466
Per cent.	50.36	49.64	–	100.00	13.30	67.55	19.15	100.00	35.41	56.87	7.72	100.00
Morris Co. Almshouse, N. J.												
Number.	10	43	1	54	–	27	–	27	10	70	1	81
Per cent.	18.52	79.63	1.85	100.00	–	100.00	–	100.00	12.35	86.42	1.23	100.00

RELATIONS OF THE LIQUOR PROBLEM TO PAUPERISM. — TABLE III., *continued.*

PAUPERISM IN ALMSHOUSES AS AFFECTED BY THE PERSONAL USE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS, BY SEX.

Name and Location of Institution Reporting.	Male Paupers.				Female Paupers.				Aggregate of Paupers.			
	Condition due to personal use of liquor.	Condition not due to personal use of liquor.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total.	Condition due to personal use of liquor.	Condition not due to personal use of liquor.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total.	Condition due to personal use of liquor.	Condition not due to personal use of liquor.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total.
Newark Almshouse, N. J.												
Number.	57	62	–	119	20	53	–	73	77	115	–	192
Per cent.	47.90	52.10	–	100.00	27.40	72.60	–	100.00	40.10	59.90	–	100.00
Paterson City Almshouse, N. J.												
Number.	33	27	4	64	16	42	7	65	49	69	11	129
Per cent.	51.56	42.19	6.25	100.00	24.62	64.61	10.77	100.00	37.98	53.49	8.53	100.00
Trenton City Almshouse, N. J.												
Number.	8	27	1	36	2	4	2	8	10	31	3	44
Per cent.	22.22	75.00	2.78	100.00	25.00	50.00	25.00	100.00	22.73	70.45	6.82	100.00
Almshouse, Warren Co., N. J.												
Number.	14	10	–	24	1	10	–	11	15	20	–	35
Per cent.	58.33	41.67	–	100.00	9.09	90.91	–	100.00	42.86	57.14	–	100.00
Nineteen small rural Almshouses in New Jersey.												
Number.	95	82	21	198	5	115	29	149	100	197	50	347
Per cent.	47.98	41.41	10.61	100.00	3.56	77.18	19.46	100.00	28.82	56.77	14.41	100.00

Six small urban Almshouses in New Jersey.	Number.	17	12	–	29	8	19	–	27	25	31	–	56
	Per cent.	58.62	41.38	–	100.00	29.63	70.37	–	100.00	44.64	55.36	–	100.00
Almshouse, Albany Co., N. Y.	Number.	63	41	3	107	23	29	–	52	86	70	3	159
	Per cent.	58.88	38.32	2.80	100.00	44.23	55.77	–	100.00	54.09	44.02	1.89	100.00
Almshouse, Erie Co., N. Y.	Number.	226	208	17	451	47	105	14	166	273	313	31	617
	Per cent.	50.11	46.12	3.77	100.00	28.32	63.25	8.43	100.00	44.25	50.73	5.02	100.00
Almshouse, Jefferson Co., N. Y.	Number.	31	32	3	66	5	38	5	48	36	70	8	114
	Per cent.	46.97	48.48	4.55	100.00	10.42	79.16	10.42	100.00	31.58	61.40	7.02	100.00
Almshouse, Monroe Co., N. Y.	Number.	158	131	–	289	33	108	–	141	191	239	–	430
	Per cent.	54.67	45.33	–	100.00	23.40	76.60	–	100.00	44.42	55.58	–	100.00
Almshouse, New York.	Number.	359	331	24	714	158	623	36	817	517	954	60	1531
	Per cent.	50.28	46.36	3.36	100.00	19.34	76.25	4.41	100.00	33.78	62.31	3.91	100.00
House of Industry, Rensselaer Co., N. Y.	Number.	109	70	16	195	20	48	7	75	129	118	23	270
	Per cent.	55.90	35.90	8.20	100.00	26.67	64.00	9.33	100.00	47.78	43.70	8.52	100.00
Almshouse, Schenectady Co., N. Y.	Number.	19	21	–	40	1	17	–	18	20	38	–	58
	Per cent.	47.50	52.50	–	100.00	5.56	94.44	–	100.00	34.48	65.52	–	100.00
Four Almshouses in Buncombe, Chatham, Durham, and Wake Counties, N. C.	Number.	21	36	1	58	12	55	2	69	33	91	3	127
	Per cent.	36.21	62.07	1.72	100.00	17.39	79.71	2.90	100.00	25.99	71.65	2.36	100.00
Infirmary, Cuyahoga Co., Ohio.	Number.	83	135	3	221	10	65	7	82	93	200	10	303
	Per cent.	37.56	61.08	1.36	100.00	12.19	79.27	8.54	100.00	30.69	66.01	3.30	100.00

RELATIONS OF THE LIQUOR PROBLEM TO PAUPERISM. — TABLE III., *continued.*

PAUPERISM IN ALMSHOUSES AS AFFECTED BY THE PERSONAL USE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS, BY SEX.

Name and Location of Institution Reporting.	Male Paupers.				Female Paupers.				Aggregate of Paupers.			
	Condition due to personal use of liquor.	Condition not due to personal use of liquor.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total.	Condition due to personal use of liquor.	Condition not due to personal use of liquor.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total.	Condition due to personal use of liquor.	Condition not due to personal use of liquor.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total.
County Infirmary, Jackson, Ohio.												
Number.	7	27	2	36	–	26	–	26	7	53	2	62
Per cent.	19.44	75.00	5.56	100.00	–	100.00	–	100.00	11.29	85.48	3.23	100.00
Infirmary, Union Co., Ohio.												
Number.	3	19	–	22	–	19	1	20	3	38	1	42
Per cent.	13.64	86.36	–	100.00	–	95.00	5.00	100.00	7.14	90.48	2.38	100.00
Allegheny City Home, Allegheny, Pa. Number.	21	111	–	132	1	66	–	67	22	177	–	199
Per cent.	15.91	84.09	–	100.00	1.49	98.51	–	100.00	11.06	88.94	–	100.00
Almshouse, Dane Co., Wis.												
Number.	15	22	9	46	4	18	9	31	19	40	18	77
Per cent.	32.61	47.83	19.56	100.00	12.90	58.07	29.03	100.00	24.67	51.95	23.38	100.00

RELATIONS OF THE LIQUOR PROBLEM TO PAUPERISM.—TABLE IV.

PAUPERISM IN ALMSHOUSES AS AFFECTED INDIRECTLY BY THE INTEMPERATE HABITS OF OTHERS, BY SEX.

Name and Location of Institution Reporting.	Male Paupers.				Female Paupers.				Aggregate of Paupers.			
	Condition due to intemperate habits of others.	Condition not due to intemperate habits of others.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total.	Condition due to intemperate habits of others.	Condition not due to intemperate habits of others.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total.	Condition due to intemperate habits of others.	Condition not due to intemperate habits of others.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total.
Town Farm, Bridgeport, Ct.												
Number.	6	53	16	75	1	17	15	33	7	70	31	108
Per cent.	8.00	70.67	21.33	100.00	3.03	51.52	45.45	100.00	6.48	64.82	28.70	100.00
Almshouse, New London, Ct.												
Number.	1	–	24	25	–	–	25	25	1	–	49	50
Per cent.	4.00	–	96.00	100.00	–	–	100.00	100.00	2.00	–	98.00	100.00
Cook Co. Almshouse, Ill.												
Number.	48	717	39	804	44	279	16	339	92	996	55	1143
Per cent.	5.97	89.18	4.85	100.00	12.98	82.30	4.72	100.00	8.05	87.14	4.81	100.00
Almshouse, Marion Co., Ind.												
Number.	–	13	173	186	1	2	51	54	1	15	224	240
Per cent.	–	6.99	93.01	100.00	1.85	3.70	94.45	100.00	0.42	6.25	93.33	100.00
Bay View Asylum, Baltimore, Md.												
Number.	2	30	323	355	31	1	153	185	33	31	476	540
Per cent.	0.56	8.45	90.99	100.00	16.76	0.54	82.70	100.00	6.11	5.74	88.15	100.00

RELATIONS OF THE LIQUOR PROBLEM TO PAUPERISM. — TABLE IV., *continued.*

PAUPERISM IN ALMSHOUSES AS AFFECTED INDIRECTLY BY THE INTEMPERATE HABITS OF OTHERS, BY SEX.

Name and Location of Institution Reporting.	Male Paupers.				Female Paupers.				Aggregate of Paupers.			
	Condition due to intemperate habits of others.	Condition not due to intemperate habits of others.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total.	Condition due to intemperate habits of others.	Condition not due to intemperate habits of others.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total.	Condition due to intemperate habits of others.	Condition not due to intemperate habits of others.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total.
Poor Farm, Hennepin Co., Minn.												
Number.	–	55	2	57	1	4	2	7	1	59	4	64
Per cent.	–	96.49	3.51	100.00	14.29	57.14	28.57	100.00	1.56	92.19	6.25	100.00
Almshouse, Ramsey Co., Minn.												
Number.	23	5	50	78	3	3	7	13	26	8	57	91
Per cent.	29.49	6.41	64.10	100.00	23.08	23.08	53.84	100.00	28.57	8.79	62.64	100.00
County Farm, Hillsboro Co., N. H.												
Number.	30	104	27	161	47	107	13	167	77	211	40	328
Per cent.	18.63	64.60	16.67	100.00	28.14	64.07	7.79	100.00	23.48	64.33	12.19	100.00
County Farm, Merrimack Co., N. H.												
Number.	4	114	3	121	17	55	3	75	21	169	6	196
Per cent.	3.31	94.21	2.48	100.00	22.67	73.33	4.00	100.00	10.71	86.23	3.06	100.00
Burlington Co. Almshouse, Burlington, N. J.												
Number.	–	31	34	65	3	50	23	76	3	81	57	141
Per cent.	–	47.69	52.31	100.00	3.95	65.79	30.26	100.00	2.13	57.45	40.42	100.00

Camden Co. Almshouse, N. J.													
	Number.	–	43	13	56	1	42	4	47	1	85	17	103
	Per cent.	–	76.79	23.21	100.00	2.13	89.36	8.51	100.00	0.97	82.52	16.51	100.00
Elizabeth City Almshouse, N. J.													
	Number.	–	37	2	39	2	7	2	11	2	44	4	50
	Per cent.	–	94.87	5.13	100.00	18.18	63.64	18.18	100.00	4.00	88.00	8.00	100.00
East Orange Almshouse, N. J.													
	Number.	–	23	1	24	–	3	–	3	–	26	1	27
	Per cent.	–	95.83	4.17	100.00	–	100.00	–	100.00	–	96.30	3.70	100.00
Snake Hill Almshouse, Hudson Co., N. J.	Number.	1	277	–	278	5	147	36	188	6	424	36	466
	Per cent.	0.36	99.64	–	100.00	2.66	78.19	19.15	100.00	1.29	90.99	7.72	100.00
Morris Co. Almshouse, N. J.													
	Number.	–	47	7	54	–	27	–	27	–	74	7	81
	Per cent.	–	87.04	12.96	100.00	–	100.00	–	100.00	–	91.36	8.64	100.00
Newark Almshouse, N. J.													
	Number.	–	110	9	119	9	46	18	73	9	156	27	192
	Per cent.	–	92.44	7.56	100.00	12.33	63.01	24.66	100.00	4.69	81.25	14.06	100.00
Paterson City Almshouse, N. J.													
	Number.	–	46	18	64	3	38	24	65	3	84	42	129
	Per cent.	–	71.87	28.13	100.00	4.62	58.46	36.92	100.00	2.32	65.12	32.56	100.00
Trenton City Almshouse, N. J.													
	Number.	–	34	2	36	–	7	1	8	–	41	3	44
	Per cent.	–	94.44	5.56	100.00	–	87.50	12.50	100.00	–	93.18	6.82	100.00
Almshouse, Warren Co., N. J.													
	Number.	–	23	1	24	–	11	–	11	–	34	1	35
	Per cent.	–	95.83	4.17	100.00	–	100.00	–	100.00	–	97.14	2.86	100.00
Nineteen small rural Almshouses in New Jersey.	Number.	1	128	69	198	8	108	33	149	9	236	102	347
	Per cent.	0.50	64.65	34.85	100.00	5.37	72.48	22.15	100.00	2.59	68.01	29.40	100.00

RELATIONS OF THE LIQUOR PROBLEM TO PAUPERISM. — TABLE IV., *continued.*

PAUPERISM IN ALMSHOUSES AS AFFECTED INDIRECTLY BY THE INTEMPERATE HABITS OF OTHERS, BY SEX.

Name and Location of Institution Reporting.	Male Paupers.				Female Paupers.				Aggregate of Paupers.			
	Condition due to intemperate habits of others.	Condition not due to intemperate habits of others.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total.	Condition due to intemperate habits of others.	Condition not due to intemperate habits of others.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total.	Condition due to intemperate habits of others.	Condition not due to intemperate habits of others.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total.
Six small urban Almshouses in New Jersey. Number.	–	16	13	29	3	18	6	27	3	34	19	56
Per cent.	–	55.17	44.83	100.00	11.11	22.22	66.67	100.00	5.36	60.71	33.93	100.00
Almshouse, Albany Co., N. Y. Number.	34	29	44	107	14	9	29	52	48	38	73	159
Per cent.	31.78	27.10	41.12	100.00	26.92	17.31	55.77	100.00	30.19	23.90	45.91	100.00
Almshouse, Erie Co., N. Y. Number.	59	316	76	451	28	114	24	166	87	430	100	617
Per cent.	13.08	70.07	16.85	100.00	16.87	68.67	14.46	100.00	14.10	69.69	16.21	100.00
Almshouse, Jefferson Co., N. Y. Number.	9	32	25	66	7	24	17	48	16	56	42	114
Per cent.	13.63	48.49	37.88	100.00	14.58	50.00	35.42	100.00	14.03	49.13	36.84	100.00
Monroe Co. Almshouse, N. Y. Number.	–	–	289	289	11	1	129	141	11	1	418	430
Per cent.	–	–	100.00	100.00	7.80	0.71	91.49	100.00	2.56	0.23	97.21	100.00

Almshouse, New York, N. Y.												
	Number.	77	553	84	714	125	601	91	817	202	1154	175	1531
	Per cent.	10.78	77.45	11.77	100.00	15.30	73.56	11.14	100.00	13.20	75.37	11.43	100.00
House of Industry, Rensselaer Co., N. Y.	Number.	–	30	165	195	2	14	59	75	2	44	224	270
	Per cent.	–	15.38	84.62	100.00	2.67	18.67	78.66	100.00	0.74	16.30	82.96	100.00
Almshouse, Schenectady Co., N. Y.	Number.	18	21	1	40	2	16	–	18	20	37	1	58
	Per cent.	45.00	52.50	2.50	100.00	11.11	88.89	–	100.00	34.48	63.79	1.73	100.00
Four almshouses in Buncombe, Chatham, Durham, and Wake Counties, N. C.	Number.	7	42	9	58	16	46	7	69	23	88	16	127
	Per cent.	12.07	72.41	15.52	100.00	23.19	66.67	10.14	100.00	18.11	69.29	12.60	100.00
Infirmary, Cuyahoga Co., Ohio.	Number.	1	215	5	221	13	60	9	82	14	275	14	303
	Per cent.	0.45	97.29	2.26	100.00	15.85	73.17	10.98	100.00	4.62	90.76	4.62	100.00
County Infirmary, Jackson, Ohio.	Number.	2	26	8	36	4	22	–	26	6	48	8	62
	Per cent.	5.56	72.22	22.22	100.00	15.38	84.62	–	100.00	9.68	77.42	12.90	100.00
Infirmary, Union Co., Ohio.	Number.	3	17	2	22	4	15	1	20	7	32	3	42
	Per cent.	13.64	77.27	9.09	100.00	20.00	75.00	5.00	100.00	16.67	76.19	7.14	100.00
Allegheny City Home, Pa.	Number.	–	–	132	132	–	–	67	67	–	–	199	199
	Per cent.	–	–	100.00	100.00	–	–	100.00	100.00	–	–	100.00	100.00
Almshouse, Dane Co., Wis.	Number.	1	2	43	46	3	1	27	31	4	3	70	77
	Per cent.	2.18	4.34	93.48	100.00	9.68	3.22	87.10	100.00	5.19	3.90	90.91	100.00

RELATIONS OF THE LIQUOR PROBLEM TO PAUPERISM. — TABLE XI.

PAUPERISM IN ALMSHOUSES AS AFFECTED BY THE INTEMPERATE HABITS OF PAUPERS, PARENTS, GUARDIANS, OR OTHERS, BY INSTITUTIONS.

Name and Location of Institution Reporting.	Condition due to intemperate habits of paupers, parents, guardians, or others.	Condition not due to intemperate habits of paupers, parents, guardians, or others.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total paupers.
Town Farm, Bridgeport, Ct.				
Number.	46	62	–	108
Per cent.	42.59	57.41	–	1.28
Almshouse, New London, Ct.				
Number.	24	26	–	50
Per cent.	48.00	52.00	–	0.59
Cook Co. Almshouse, Cook Co., Ill.				
Number.	260	859	24	1143
Per cent.	22.75	75.15	2.10	13.58
Almshouse, Marion Co., Ind.				
Number.	68	79	93	240
Per cent.	28.33	32.92	38.75	2.85
Bay View Asylum, Baltimore, Md.				
Number.	249	268	23	540
Per cent.	46.11	49.63	4.26	6.41
Poor Farm, Hennepin Co., Minn.				
Number.	30	32	2	64
Per cent.	46.87	50.00	3.13	0.76
Almshouse, Ramsay Co., Minn.				
Number.	57	28	6	91
Per cent.	62.64	30.77	6.59	1.09
County Farm, Hillsboro Co., N. H.				
Number.	128	189	11	328
Per cent.	39.03	57.62	3.35	3.90
County Farm, Merrimac Co., N. H.				
Number.	68	125	3	196
Per cent.	34.69	63.78	1.53	2.33
County Almshouse, Burlington Co., N. J.				
Number.	55	64	22	141
Per cent.	39.01	45.39	15.60	1.67
Camden Co. Almshouse, Camden, N. J.				
Number.	24	79	–	103
Per cent.	23.30	76.70	–	1.22
City Almshouse, Elizabeth, N. J.				
Number.	20	30	–	50
Per cent.	40.00	60.00	–	0.59

PAUPERISM IN ALMSHOUSES AS AFFECTED BY THE INTEMPERATE HABITS OF PAUPERS, PARENTS, GUARDIANS, OR OTHERS, BY INSTITUTIONS.

Name and Location of Institution Reporting.		Condition due to intemperate habits of paupers, parents, guardians, or others.	Condition not due to intemperate habits of paupers, parents, guardians, or others.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total paupers.
Almshouse, East Orange, N. J.	Number.	12	15	–	27
	Per cent.	44.44	55.56	–	0.32
Snake Hill Almshouse, Hudson Co., N. J.	Number.	170	260	36	466
	Per cent.	36.48	55.79	7.73	5.53
Morris Co. Almshouse, Morris Co., N. J.	Number.	10	70	1	81
	Per cent.	12.35	86.42	1.23	0.96
City Almshouse, Newark, N. J.	Number.	86	106	–	192
	Per cent.	44.79	55.21	–	2.28
City Almshouse, Paterson, N. J.	Number.	52	66	11	129
	Per cent.	40.31	51.16	8.53	1.53
City Almshouse, Trenton, N. J.	Number.	10	32	2	44
	Per cent.	22.73	72.73	4.54	0.52
County Almshouse, Warren Co., N. J.	Number.	15	20	–	35
	Per cent.	42.86	57.14	–	0.42
Nineteen small rural Almshouses in New Jersey.	Number.	108	189	50	347
	Per cent.	31.12	54.47	14.41	4.12
Six small urban Almshouses in New Jersey.	Number.	27	29	–	56
	Per cent.	48.21	51.79	–	0.67
Almshouse, Albany Co., N. Y.	Number.	87	69	3	159
	Per cent.	54.72	43.39	1.89	1.89
Almshouse, Erie Co., N. Y.	Number.	291	296	30	617
	Per cent.	47.16	47.98	4.86	7.33
Almshouse, Jefferson Co., N. Y.	Number.	45	61	8	114
	Per cent.	39.47	53.51	7.02	1.35

PAUPERISM IN ALMSHOUSES AS AFFECTED BY THE INTEMPERATE HABITS OF PAUPERS, PARENTS, GUARDIANS, OR OTHERS, BY INSTITUTIONS.

Name and Location of Institution Reporting.		Condition due to intemperate habits of paupers, parents, guardians, or others.	Condition not due to intemperate habits of paupers, parents, guardians, or others.	Cause of condition not reported.	Total paupers.
Almshouse, Monroe Co., N. Y.	Number.	199	231	–	430
	Per cent.	46.28	53.72	–	5.11
New York City Almshouse, New York Co., N. Y.	Number.	610	862	59	1531
	Per cent.	39.85	56.30	3.85	18.18
House of Industry, Rensselaer Co., N. Y.	Number.	130	117	23	270
	Per cent.	48.15	43.33	8.52	3.21
Almshouse, Schenectady Co., N. Y.	Number.	21	37	–	58
	Per cent.	36.21	63.79	–	0.69
Four Almshouses in four Counties in N. C.	Number.	45	79	3	127
	Per cent.	35.43	62.21	2.36	1.51
Infirmary, Cuyahoga Co., Ohio.	Number.	107	186	10	303
	Per cent.	35.31	61.39	3.30	3.60
County Infirmary, Jackson Co., Ohio.	Number.	13	47	2	62
	Per cent.	20.97	75.81	3.22	0.74
County Infirmary, Union Co., Ohio.	Number.	9	32	1	42
	Per cent.	21.43	76.19	2.38	0.50
Allegheny City Home, Allegheny, Pa.	Number.	22	177	–	199
	Per cent.	11.06	88.94	–	2.36
Almshouse, Dane Co., Wis.	Number.	22	38	17	77
	Per cent.	28.57	49.36	22.07	0.91
Total.	Number.	3120	4860	440	8420
	Per cent.	37.05	57.72	5.23	100.00

RELATIONS OF THE LIQUOR PROBLEM TO THE DESTITUTION AND NEGLECT OF CHILDREN.—TABLE I.

DESTITUTION AND NEGLECT OF CHILDREN AS AFFECTED BY THE USE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS, BY COLOR.

Name and Location of Organization Reporting.		Condition due to intemperate habits of one or both parents.			Condition due to intemperate habits of natural or legal guardians.			Condition due to intemperate habits of others not parents or guardians.			Condition due to intemperate habits of parents, guardians, or others.			Total.
		Yes.	No.	Not reported.	Yes.	No.	Not reported.	Yes.	No.	Not reported.	Yes.	No.	Not reported.	
Connecticut Humane Society, Hartford, Ct.														
White.	Number.	318	176	72	28	466	72		470	88	321	173	72	566
	Per cent.	56.18	31.10	12.72	4.95	82.33	12.72	1.41	83.04	15.55	56.71	30.57	12.72	97.25
Colored.	Number.	5	8	3	–	13	3	–	13	3	5	8	3	16
	Per cent.	31.25	50.00	18.75	–	81.25	18.75	–	81.25	18.75	31.25	50.00	18.75	2.75
Total.	Number.	323	184	75	28	479	75	8	483	91	326	181	75	582
	Per cent.	55.50	31.61	12.89	4.81	82.30	12.89	1.37	82.99	15.64	56.01	31.10	12.89	100.00
The Queen City Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, Buffalo, N. Y.														
White.	Number.	547	649	25	8	1188	25	–	1196	25	547	649	25	1221
	Per cent.	44.80	53.15	2.05	0.65	97.30	2.05	–	97.95	2.05	44.80	53.15	2.05	98.55
Colored.	Number.	1	17	–	–	18	–	–	18	–	1	17	–	18
	Per cent.	5.56	94.44	–	–	100.00	–	–	100.00	–	5.56	94.44	–	1.45
Total.	Number.	548	666	25	8	1206	25	–	1214	25	548	666	25	1239
	Per cent.	44.23	53.75	2.02	0.64	97.34	2.02	–	97.98	2.02	44.23	53.75	2.02	100.00

Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, Syracuse, N. Y.														
White.	Number.	47	58	7	2	102	8	29	75	8	70	35	7	112
	Per cent.	41.96	51.79	6.25	1.79	91.07	7.14	25.89	66.97	7.14	62.50	31.25	6.25	98.25
Colored.	Number.	2	–	–	2	–	–	–	2	–	2	–	–	2
	Per cent.	100.00	–	–	100.00	–	–	–	100.00	–	100.00	–	–	1.75
Total.	Number.	49	58	7	4	102	8	29	77	8	72	35	7	114
	Per cent.	42.98	50.88	6.14	3.51	89.47	7.02	25.44	67.54	7.02	63.16	30.70	6.14	100.00
Yonkers Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, Yonkers, N. Y.														
White.	Number.	87	44	4	–	131	4	–	131	4	87	44	4	135
	Per cent.	64.45	32.59	2.96	–	97.04	2.96	–	97.04	2.96	64.45	32.59	2.96	96.43
Colored.	Number.	3	2	–	–	5	–	–	5	–	3	2	–	5
	Per cent.	60.00	40.00	–	–	100.00	–	–	100.00	–	60.00	40.00	–	3.57
Total.	Number.	90	46	4	–	136	4	–	136	4	90	46	4	140
	Per cent.	64.28	32.86	2.86	–	97.14	2.86	–	97.14	2.86	64.28	32.86	2.86	100.00
Illinois Humane Society, Chicago, Ill.														
White.	Number.	776	618	4	8	1386	4	–	1394	4	782	612	4	1398
	Per cent.	55.51	44.20	0.29	0.57	99.14	0.29	–	99.71	0.29	55.94	43.77	0.29	98.80
Colored.	Number.	16	–	1	–	16	1	–	16	1	16	–	1	17
	Per cent.	94.12	–	5.88	–	94.12	5.88	–	94.12	5.88	94.12	–	5.88	1.20
Total.	Number.	792	618	5	8	1402	5	–	1410	5	798	612	5	1415
	Per cent.	55.97	43.68	0.35	0.57	99.08	0.35	–	99.65	0.35	56.39	43.26	0.35	100.00

RELATIONS OF THE LIQUOR PROBLEM TO THE DESTITUTION AND NEGLECT OF CHILDREN. — TABLE I., *continued.*

DESTITUTION AND NEGLECT OF CHILDREN AS AFFECTED BY THE USE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS, BY COLOR.

Name and Location of Organization Reporting.		Condition due to intemperate habits of one or both parents.			Condition due to intemperate habits of natural or legal guardians.			Condition due to intemperate habits of others not parents or guardians.			Condition due to intemperate habits of parents, guardians, or others.			Total.
		Yes.	No.	Not reported.	Yes.	No.	Not reported.	Yes.	No.	Not reported.	Yes.	No.	Not reported.	
Nebraska Children's Home Society, Omaha, Neb.														
White.	Number.	5	29	10	2	32	10	1	32	11	5	29	10	44
	Per cent.	11.36	65.91	22.73	4.54	72.73	22.73	2.27	72.73	25.00	11.36	65.91	22.73	100.00
Colored.	Number.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	Per cent.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Total.	Number.	5	29	10	2	32	10	1	32	11	5	29	10	44
	Per cent.	11.36	65.91	22.73	4.54	72.73	22.73	2.27	72.73	25.00	11.36	65.91	22.73	100.00
Children's Home Society, Denver, Col.														
White.	Number.	30	66	18	1	96	17	1	95	18	30	67	17	114
	Per cent.	26.32	57.89	15.79	0.88	84.21	14.91	0.88	83.33	15.79	26.32	58.77	14.91	97.44
Colored.	Number.	1	2	–	–	3	–	–	3	–	1	2	–	3
	Per cent.	33.33	66.67	–	–	100.00	–	–	100.00	–	33.33	66.67	–	2.56
Total.	Number.	31	68	18	1	99	17	1	98	18	31	69	17	117
	Per cent.	26.50	58.12	15.38	0.85	84.62	14.53	0.85	83.77	15.38	26.50	58.97	14.53	100.00

Board of Children's Guardians, Indianapolis, Ind.														
White.	Number.	102	83	25	3	182	25	1	184	25	103	82	25	210
	Per cent.	48.57	39.52	11.91	1.43	86.67	11.90	0.48	87.62	11.90	49.05	39.05	11.90	93.33
Colored.	Number.	8	7	–	–	15	–	–	15	–	8	7	–	15
	Per cent.	53.33	46.67	–	–	100.00	–	–	100.00	–	53.33	46.67	–	6.67
Total.	Number.	110	90	25	3	197	25	1	199	25	111	89	25	225
	Per cent.	48.89	40.00	11.11	1.33	87.56	11.11	0.45	88.44	11.11	49.33	39.56	11.11	100.00
New York Children's Home Society, Syracuse, N. Y.														
White.	Number.	60	29	36	–	104	21	1	103	21	61	29	35	125
	Per cent.	48.00	23.20	28.80	–	83.20	16.80	0.80	82.40	16.80	48.80	23.20	28.00	99.21
Colored.	Number.	1	–	–	–	1	–	–	1	–	1	–	–	1
	Per cent.	100.00	–	–	–	100.00	–	–	100.00	–	100.00	–	–	0.79
Total.	Number.	61	29	36	–	105	21	1	104	21	62	29	35	126
	Per cent.	48.41	23.02	28.57	–	83.33	16.67	0.79	82.54	16.67	49.20	23.02	27.78	100.00
State Public School, Owatonna, Minn.														
White.	Number.	94	169	55	–	266	52	–	265	53	94	172	52	318
	Per cent.	29.56	53.14	17.30	–	83.65	16.35	–	83.33	16.67	29.56	54.09	16.35	96.07
Colored.	Number.	3	4	6	–	12	1	–	12	1	3	9	1	13
	Per cent.	23.08	30.77	46.15	–	92.31	7.69	–	92.31	7.69	23.08	69.23	7.69	3.93
Total.	Number.	97	173	61	–	278	53	–	277	54	97	181	53	331
	Per cent.	29.30	52.27	18.43	–	83.99	16.01	–	83.69	16.31	29.30	54.69	16.01	100.00

RELATIONS OF THE LIQUOR PROBLEM TO THE DESTITUTION AND NEGLECT OF CHILDREN. — TABLE I., *continued.*

DESTITUTION AND NEGLECT OF CHILDREN AS AFFECTED BY THE USE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS, BY COLOR.

Name and Location of Organization Reporting.		Condition due to intemperate habits of one or both parents.			Condition due to intemperate habits of natural or legal guardians.			Condition due to intemperate habits of others not parents or guardians.			Condition due to intemperate habits of parents, guardians, or others.			Total.
		Yes.	No.	Not reported.	Yes.	No.	Not reported.	Yes.	No.	Not reported.	Yes.	No.	Not reported.	
State Public School, Sparta, Wis.														
White.	Number.	201	455	135	11	646	134	2	654	135	214	443	134	791
	Per cent.	25.41	57.52	17.07	1.39	81.67	16.94	0.25	82.68	17.07	27.05	56.01	16.94	98.51
Colored.	Number.	–	8	4	–	7	5	–	7	5	–	8	4	12
	Per cent.	–	66.67	33.33	–	58.33	41.67	–	58.33	41.67	–	66.67	33.33	1.49
Total.	Number.	201	463	139	11	653	139	2	661	140	214	451	138	803
	Per cent.	25.03	57.66	17.31	1.37	81.32	17.31	0.25	82.32	17.43	26.65	56.16	17.19	100.00

RELATIONS OF THE LIQUOR PROBLEM TO CRIME. — TABLE V.

RELATIVE RANK OF CAUSES LEADING TO A CONDITION WHICH INDUCED THE CRIME.

State Prison, Thomaston, Me.

Causes of Crime according to the Relative Rank.	Number.	Per cent.
Intemperance	40	18.26
Unfavorable environment	30	13.70
Unfavorable environment and lack of industrial training	27	12.32
Unfavorable environment and intemperance	15	6.85
Lack of industrial training and unfavorable environment	13	5.94
Lack of industrial training	10	4.58
Lack of industrial training and intemperance	6	2.74
Unfavorable environment, intemperance, and lack of industrial training	6	2.74
Intemperance and unfavorable environment	6	2.74
Intemperance, unfavorable environment, and lack of industrial training	5	2.28
Intemperance and lack of industrial training	4	1.83
Lack of industrial training, unfavorable environment, and intemperance	2	0.91
Unfavorable environment, lack of industrial training, and intemperance	2	0.91
Intemperance, lack of industrial training, and unfavorable environment	2	0.91
Lack of industrial training, intemperance, and unfavorable environment	1	0.46
Crime not induced by any of these causes	50	22.83
Total	219	100.00

RELATIONS OF THE LIQUOR PROBLEM TO CRIME. — TABLE V., *continued.*

RELATIVE RANK OF CAUSES LEADING TO A CONDITION WHICH INDUCED THE CRIME.

State Prison, Concord, N. H.

Causes of Crime according to the Relative Rank.	Number.	Per cent.
Unfavorable environment and lack of industrial training	39	24.07
Lack of industrial training and unfavorable environment	25	15.43
Intemperance	24	14.82
Intemperance and unfavorable environment	9	5.55
Intemperance, lack of industrial training, and unfavorable environment	9	5.55
Unfavorable environment	8	4.94
Intemperance and lack of industrial training	7	4.32
Unfavorable environment, lack of industrial training, and intemperance	4	2.47
Lack of industrial training	4	2.47
Unfavorable environment and intemperance	1	0.62
Unfavorable environment, intemperance, and lack of industrial training	1	0.62
Lack of industrial training and intemperance	1	0.62
Lack of industrial training, intemperance, and unfavorable environment	1	0.62
Intemperance, unfavorable environment, and lack of industrial training	1	0.62
Crime not induced by any of these causes	28	17.28
Total	162	100.00

RELATIVE RANK OF CAUSES LEADING TO A CONDITION WHICH INDUCED THE CRIME.

State Prison, Weathersfield, Conn.

Causes of Crime according to the Relative Rank.	Number.	Per cent.
Intemperance	116	27.30
Unfavorable environment and intemperance	52	12.24
Intemperance and unfavorable environment	51	12.00
Intemperance and lack of industrial training	32	7.53
Unfavorable environment and lack of industrial training	29	6.83
Unfavorable environment, intemperance, and lack of industrial training	16	3.76
Lack of industrial training and intemperance	15	3.53
Unfavorable environment	13	3.06
Lack of industrial training	12	2.82
Intemperance, unfavorable environment, and lack of industrial training	12	2.82
Unfavorable environment, lack of industrial training, and intemperance	8	1.88
Intemperance, lack of industrial training, and unfavorable environment	6	1.41
Crime not induced by any of these causes	63	14.82
Total	425	100.00

RELATIONS OF THE LIQUOR PROBLEM TO CRIME. — TABLE V., *continued.*

RELATIVE RANK OF CAUSES LEADING TO A CONDITION WHICH INDUCED THE CRIME.

State Prison, Auburn, N. Y.

Causes of Crime according to the Relative Rank.	Number.	Per cent.
Intemperance	150	14.84
Unfavorable environment	123	12.17
Intemperance and unfavorable environment	107	10.58
Unfavorable environment and intemperance	99	9.79
Lack of industrial training and unfavorable environment	94	9.30
Unfavorable environment and lack of industrial training	84	8.31
Lack of industrial training	60	5.94
Intemperance and lack of industrial training	43	4.25
Lack of industrial training and intemperance	32	3.17
Unfavorable environment, intemperance, and lack of industrial training	29	2.87
Unfavorable environment, lack of industrial training, and intemperance	25	2.47
Intemperance, unfavorable environment, and lack of industrial training	23	2.28
Lack of industrial training, intemperance, and unfavorable environment	18	1.77
Intemperance, lack of industrial training, and unfavorable environment	16	1.58
Lack of industrial training, unfavorable environment, and intemperance	15	1.48
Crime not induced by any of these causes	93	9.20
Total	1011	100.00

RELATIONS OF THE LIQUOR PROBLEM TO CRIME. — TABLE V., *continued.*

RELATIVE RANK OF CAUSES LEADING TO A CONDITION WHICH INDUCED THE CRIME.

State Prison, Sing Sing, N. Y.

Causes of Crime according to the Relative Rank.	Number.	Per cent.
Intemperance	341	24.38
Lack of industrial training	229	16.37
Lack of industrial training and intemperance	12	0.86
Intemperance and lack of industrial training	9	0.64
Unfavorable environment	4	0.28
Lack of industrial training and unfavorable environment	3	0.22
Intemperance and unfavorable environment	2	0.14
Unfavorable environment and intemperance	1	0.07
Lack of industrial training, intemperance, and unfavorable environment	1	0.07
Crime not induced by any of these causes	797	56.97
Total	1399	100.00

RELATIONS OF THE LIQUOR PROBLEM TO CRIME. — TABLE V., *continued.*

RELATIVE RANK OF CAUSES LEADING TO A CONDITION WHICH INDUCED THE CRIME.

State Prison, Trenton, N. J.

Causes of Crime according to the Relative Rank.	Number.	Per cent.
Intemperance	249	25.38
Intemperance and lack of industrial training	106	10.81
Lack of industrial training	70	7.14
Lack of industrial training and intemperance	62	6.32
Intemperance and unfavorable environment	58	5.91
Unfavorable environment and lack of industrial training	48	4.89
Intemperance, unfavorable environment, and lack of industrial training	48	4.89
Intemperance, lack of industrial training, and unfavorable environment	46	4.69
Unfavorable environment, lack of industrial training, and intemperance	43	4.38
Unfavorable environment	40	4.08
Lack of industrial training and unfavorable environment	37	3.77
Unfavorable environment and intemperance	26	2.65
Unfavorable environment, intemperance, and lack of industrial training	14	1.43
Lack of industrial training, intemperance, and unfavorable environment	12	1.22
Lack of industrial training, unfavorable environment, and intemperance	9	0.92
Crime not induced by any of these causes	113	11.52
Total	981	100.00

RELATIONS OF THE LIQUOR PROBLEM TO CRIME. — TABLE V., *continued.*

RELATIVE RANK OF CAUSES LEADING TO A CONDITION WHICH INDUCED THE CRIME.

State Prison, Richmond, Va.

Causes of Crime according to the Relative Rank.	Number.	Per cent.
Intemperance	431	33.46
Lack of industrial training	150	11.65
Lack of industrial training and intemperance	138	10.72
Unfavorable environment, lack of industrial training, and intemperance	41	3.18
Intemperance and lack of industrial training	37	2.87
Unfavorable environment and lack of industrial training	28	2.18
Unfavorable environment	24	1.86
Intemperance and unfavorable environment	13	1.01
Lack of industrial training and unfavorable environment	12	0.93
Intemperance, unfavorable environment, and lack of industrial training	8	0.62
Unfavorable environment and intemperance	8	0.62
Intemperance, lack of industrial training, and unfavorable environment	7	0.54
Lack of industrial training, intemperance, and unfavorable environment	2	0.16
Crime not induced by any of these causes	389	30.20
Total	1288	100.00

RELATIONS OF THE LIQUOR PROBLEM TO CRIME. — TABLE V., *continued.*

RELATIVE RANK OF CAUSES LEADING TO A CONDITION WHICH INDUCED THE CRIME.

State Prison, Joliet, Ill.

Causes of Crime according to the Relative Rank.	Number.	Per cent.
Unfavorable environment and lack of industrial training	245	19.95
Intemperance, unfavorable environment, and lack of industrial training	126	10.26
Unfavorable environment	123	10.02
Lack of industrial training and unfavorable environment	105	8.55
Intemperance and unfavorable environment	95	7.74
Lack of industrial training	83	6.76
Intemperance and lack of industrial training	73	5.94
Intemperance	71	5.78
Intemperance, lack of industrial training, and unfavorable environment	54	4.40
Unfavorable environment, lack of industrial training, and intemperance	26	2.12
Lack of industrial training and intemperance	26	2.12
Unfavorable environment and intemperance	16	1.30
Lack of industrial training, intemperance, and unfavorable environment	12	0.98
Unfavorable environment, intemperance, and lack of industrial training	10	0.81
Lack of industrial training, unfavorable environment, and intemperance	3	0.24
Crime not induced by any of these causes	160	13.03
Total	1228	100.00

RELATIVE RANK OF CAUSES LEADING TO A CONDITION WHICH INDUCED THE CRIME.

State Prison, Michigan City, Ind.

Causes of Crime according to the Relative Rank.	Number.	Per cent.
Unfavorable environment and lack of industrial training	272	30.56
Lack of industrial training and unfavorable environment	100	11.23
Intemperance	87	9.77
Intemperance, unfavorable environment, and lack of industrial training	80	8.99
Unfavorable environment	76	8.54
Unfavorable environment, lack of industrial training, and intemperance	68	7.64
Unfavorable environment and intemperance	45	5.05
Intemperance and unfavorable environment	35	3.93
Unfavorable environment, intemperance, and lack of industrial training	29	3.26
Lack of industrial training	27	3.03
Intemperance and lack of industrial training	21	2.36
Intemperance, lack of industrial training, and unfavorable environment	21	2.36
Lack of industrial training and intemperance	6	0.67
Lack of industrial training, intemperance, and unfavorable environment	5	0.56
Lack of industrial training, unfavorable environment, and intemperance	2	0.25
Crime not induced by any of these causes	16	1.80
Total	890	100.00

RELATIONS OF THE LIQUOR PROBLEM TO CRIME. — TABLE V., *continued.*

RELATIVE RANK OF CAUSES LEADING TO A CONDITION WHICH INDUCED THE CRIME.

State Prison, Stillwater, Minn.

Causes of Crime according to the Relative Rank.	Number.	Per cent.
Intemperance	163	32.60
Intemperance and unfavorable environment	52	10.40
Unfavorable environment	49	9.80
Unfavorable environment and intemperance	31	6.20
Lack of industrial training	27	5.40
Intemperance and lack of industrial training	19	3.80
Unfavorable environment and lack of industrial training	15	3.00
Lack of industrial training and unfavorable environment	12	2.40
Lack of industrial training, intemperance, and unfavorable environment	10	2.00
Intemperance, unfavorable environment, and lack of industrial training	8	1.60
Lack of industrial training and intemperance	6	1.20
Unfavorable environment, lack of industrial training, and intemperance	5	1.00
Unfavorable environment, intemperance, and lack of industrial training	2	0.40
Intemperance, lack of industrial training, and unfavorable environment	2	0.40
Lack of industrial training, unfavorable environment, and intemperance	2	0.40
Crime not induced by any of these causes	97	19.40
Total	500	100.00

RELATIONS OF THE LIQUOR PROBLEM TO CRIME. — TABLE V., *continued.*

RELATIVE RANK OF CAUSES LEADING TO A CONDITION WHICH INDUCED THE CRIME.

State Prison, Waupun, Wis.

Causes of Crime according to the Relative Rank.	Number.	Per cent.
Unfavorable environment	78	16.92
Unfavorable environment and lack of industrial training	63	13.67
Unfavorable environment, intemperance, and lack of industrial training	51	11.06
Intemperance and unfavorable environment	44	9.54
Unfavorable environment and intemperance	42	9.11
Unfavorable environment, lack of industrial training, and intemperance	40	8.68
Intemperance	32	6.94
Intemperance, unfavorable environment, and lack of industrial training	30	6.51
Intemperance, lack of industrial training, and unfavorable environment	18	3.90
Lack of industrial training, intemperance, and unfavorable environment	9	1.95
Lack of industrial training and unfavorable environment	9	1.95
Intemperance and lack of industrial training	8	1.74
Lack of industrial training, unfavorable environment, and intemperance	8	1.74
Lack of industrial training	4	0.87
Lack of industrial training and intemperance	2	0.43
Crime not induced by any of these causes	23	4.99
Total	461	100.00

RELATIONS OF THE LIQUOR PROBLEM TO CRIME. — TABLE V., *continued.*

RELATIVE RANK OF CAUSES LEADING TO A CONDITION WHICH INDUCED THE CRIME.

State Prison, Columbus, Ohio.

Causes of Crime according to the Relative Rank.	Number.	Per cent.
Intemperance	247	34.30
Unfavorable environment and intemperance	61	8.47
Unfavorable environment	48	6.67
Unfavorable environment, intemperance, and lack of industrial training	36	5.00
Unfavorable environment, lack of industrial training, and intemperance	34	4.72
Unfavorable environment and lack of industrial training	30	4.17
Lack of industrial training	30	4.17
Lack of industrial training and intemperance	28	3.89
Lack of industrial training and unfavorable environment	25	3.47
Intemperance and lack of industrial training	21	2.92
Intemperance, unfavorable environment, and lack of industrial training	13	1.80
Lack of industrial training, unfavorable environment, and intemperance	12	1.67
Intemperance and unfavorable environment	8	1.11
Intemperance, lack of industrial training, and unfavorable environment	6	0.83
Lack of industrial training, intemperance, and unfavorable environment	2	0.28
Crime not induced by any of these causes	119	16.53
Total	720	100.00

RELATIVE RANK OF CAUSES LEADING TO A CONDITION WHICH INDUCED THE CRIME.

State Reformatory, Elmira, N. Y.

Causes of Crime according to the Relative Rank.	Number.	Per cent.
Lack of industrial training and unfavorable environment	285	21.99
Lack of industrial training	183	14.12
Unfavorable environment and lack of industrial training	174	13.43
Lack of industrial training and intemperance	125	9.65
Lack of industrial training, unfavorable environment, and intemperance	97	7.48
Unfavorable environment, lack of industrial training, and intemperance	71	5.48
Lack of industrial training, intemperance, and unfavorable environment	64	4.94
Intemperance and lack of industrial training	59	4.55
Unfavorable environment	53	4.09
Unfavorable environment and intemperance	37	2.85
Intemperance and unfavorable environment	33	2.55
Intemperance, unfavorable environment, and lack of industrial training	31	2.39
Intemperance, lack of industrial training, and unfavorable environment	29	2.24
Unfavorable environment, intemperance, and lack of industrial training	29	2.24
Intemperance	24	1.85
Crime not induced by any of these causes	2	0.15
Total	1296	100.00

RELATIONS OF THE LIQUOR PROBLEM TO CRIME. — TABLE V., *continued.*

RELATIVE RANK OF CAUSES LEADING TO A CONDITION WHICH INDUCED THE CRIME.

State Reformatory, Pontiac, Ill.

Causes of Crime according to the Relative Rank.	Number.	Per cent.
Unfavorable environment and lack of industrial training	441	24.46
Lack of industrial training and unfavorable environment	253	14.03
Unfavorable environment, intemperance, and lack of industrial training	191	10.59
Unfavorable environment	149	8.26
Lack of industrial training, intemperance, and unfavorable environment	131	7.26
Unfavorable environment and intemperance	109	6.04
Unfavorable environment, lack of industrial training, and intemperance	88	4.88
Intemperance, unfavorable environment, and lack of industrial training	86	4.77
Lack of industrial training, unfavorable environment, and intemperance	66	3.66
Intemperance, lack of industrial training, and unfavorable environment	66	3.66
Intemperance and unfavorable environment	64	3.60
Intemperance	56	3.10
Lack of industrial training	43	2.38
Lack of industrial training and intemperance	34	1.88
Intemperance and lack of industrial training	14	0.77
Crime not induced by any of these causes	12	0.66
Total	1803	100.00

RELATIONS OF THE LIQUOR PROBLEM TO CRIME. — TABLE V., *continued.*

RELATIVE RANK OF CAUSES LEADING TO A CONDITION WHICH INDUCED THE CRIME.

State Reformatory, Ionia, Mich.

Causes of Crime according to the Relative Rank.	Number.	Per cent.
Intemperance	128	25.60
Unfavorable environment	79	15.80
Unfavorable environment and intemperance	40	8.00
Intemperance and unfavorable environment	35	7.00
Lack of industrial training	2	0.40
Intemperance and lack of industrial training	2	0.40
Unfavorable environment and lack of industrial training	2	0.40
Crime not induced by any of these causes	212	42.40
Total	500	100.00

RELATIONS OF THE LIQUOR PROBLEM TO CRIME.—
TABLE V., *continued.*

RELATIVE RANK OF CAUSES LEADING TO A CONDITION WHICH INDUCED THE CRIME.

State Reformatory, St. Cloud, Minn.

Causes of Crime according to the Relative Rank.	Number.	Per cent.
Intemperance and unfavorable environment	22	16.05
Intemperance	21	15.33
Unfavorable environment and intemperance	21	15.33
Unfavorable environment and lack of industrial training	19	13.87
Lack of industrial training and unfavorable environment	15	10.95
Intemperance and lack of industrial training	7	5.11
Unfavorable environment	5	3.65
Unfavorable environment, lack of industrial training, and intemperance	5	3.65
Intemperance, unfavorable environment, and lack of industrial training	3	2.19
Lack of industrial training, unfavorable environment, and intemperance	3	2.19
Lack of industrial training and intemperance	2	1.46
Unfavorable environment, intemperance, and lack of industrial training	2	1.46
Intemperance, lack of industrial training, and unfavorable environment	1	0.73
Crime not induced by any of these causes	11	8.03
Total	137	100.00

RELATIONS OF THE LIQUOR PROBLEM TO CRIME. — TABLE V., *continued.*

RELATIVE RANK OF CAUSES LEADING TO A CONDITION WHICH INDUCED THE CRIME.

State Reformatory, Jeffersonville, Ind.

Causes of Crime according to the Relative Rank.	Number.	Per cent.
Unfavorable environment	84	21.99
Intemperance	81	21.20
Unfavorable environment and lack of industrial training	60	15.71
Unfavorable environment and intemperance	44	11.52
Intemperance and unfavorable environment	43	11.26
Lack of industrial training	25	6.54
Intemperance and lack of industrial training	17	4.45
Lack of industrial training and unfavorable environment	10	2.62
Lack of industrial training and intemperance	4	1.05
Unfavorable environment, intemperance, and lack of industrial training	4	1.05
Intemperance, unfavorable environment, and lack of industrial training	3	0.78
Intemperance, lack of industrial training, and unfavorable environment	2	0.52
Unfavorable environment, lack of industrial training, and intemperance	1	0.26
Crime not induced by any of these causes	4	1.05
Total	382	100.00

MANUFACTURE OF LIQUORS, 1890.

FROM THE REPORTS OF THE 11TH CENSUS, QUOTED IN THE 12TH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONER OF LABOR, P. 27.

ITEMS.	Distilled liquors.	Malt liquors.	Vinous liquors.	Total.
Number of establishments reporting	440	1,248	236	1,924
Capital:				
Land	$2,816,967	$33,538,926	$367,010	$36,722,903
Buildings	6,299,511	64,412,133	1,049,005	71,760,649
Machinery, tools, and implements	7,856,249	50,288,210	1,290,598	59,435,057
Live assets	14,033,449	84,232,021	3,086,170	101,351,640
Total	$31,006,176	$232,471,290	$5,792,783	$269,270,249
Miscellaneous expenses	65,179,927	48,276,290	270,377	113,726,594
Average number of employees and total wages — officers, firm members, and clerks:				
Males above 16 years	573	4,483	229	5,285
Wages	$564,325	$7,621,448	$178,955	$8,364,728
Females above 15 years	8	60	5	73
Wages	$4,500	$47,713	$2,325	$54,538
Operatives, skilled and unskilled:				
Males above 16 years	4,559	29,117	962	34,638
Wages	$2,142,232	$20,399,030	$285,418	$22,826,680
Females above 15 years	3	168	24	195
Wages	$390	$40,757	$7,382	$48,529
Children	5	508	6	519
Wages	$540	$91,609	$548	$92,697
Pieceworkers:				
Males above 16 years	194	374	54	622
Wages	$102,802	$165,763	$5,905	$274,470
Females above 15 years	0	82	2	84
Wages	0	$15,000	$200	$15,200
Children	1	8	0	9
Wages	$100	$1,224	0	$1,324
Total employees	5,343	34,800	1,282	41,425
Total wages	$2,814,889	$28,382,544	$480,733	$31,678,166
Cost of materials used	14,909,173	64,003,347	1,318,012	80,230,532
Value of products	104,197,869	182,731,622	2,846,148	289,775,639

GALLONS OF DISTILLED SPIRITS, WINES, AND MALT LIQUORS CONSUMED IN THE UNITED STATES, 1840 TO 1896.

FROM THE REPORTS OF THE BUREAU OF STATISTICS OF THE TREASURY DEPARTMENT, QUOTED IN THE 12TH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONER OF LABOR, P. 35.

Year ending June 30.	Total consumption of wines and liquors.	Consumption per capita.			
		Distilled spirits.[1]	Wines.	Malt liquors.	All liquors and wines.
1840	71,244,823	2.52	.29	1.36	4.17
1850	94,712,353	2.23	.27	1.58	4.08
1860	202,374,461	2.86	.35	3.22	6.44
1870	296,876,931	2.07	.32	5.31	7.70
1880	506,076,400	1.27	.56	8.26	10.09
1885	688,632,415	1.26	.39	10.61	12.26
1886	740,796,554	1.26	.44	11.20	12.90
1887	821,138,648	1.21	.55	12.23	13.99
1888	879,767,476	1.26	.61	12.80	14.67
1889	894,655,061	1.32	.56	12.72	14.60
1890	972,578,878	1.40	.46	13.67	15.53
1891	1,097,671,118	1.42	.45	15.28	17.15
1892	1,114,292,201	1.50	.44	15.10	17.04
1893	1,207,731,908	1.51	.48	16.08	18.07
1894	1,148,153,555	1.33	.31	15.18	16.82
1895	1,140,764,716	1.12	.28	14.95	16.35
1896	1,170,379,448	1.00	.26	15.16	16.42

[1] Proof gallons.

TAXES PAID DURING THE FISCAL YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1896, BY THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC.

FROM THE 12TH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONER OF LABOR, 1898, P. 65.

The total annual revenue derived from liquor manufacture and traffic may be recapitulated as follows: —

Tax on real and personal property employed in liquor manufacture (estimated)	$1,225,805.85
Tax on real and personal property employed in liquor traffic (estimated)	10,075,120.00
Ad valorem tax in Kentucky and Missouri	32,115.70
United States internal revenue tax	114,450,861.77
License fees or special taxes, States	10,399,015.60
License fees or special taxes, counties	5,011,225.06
License fees or special taxes, municipalities	34,155,299.25
Fines, States	91,299.56
Fines, counties	378,557.75
Fines, municipalities	533,916.01
Fines, sales of confiscated liquors, etc., United States (estimated)	123,844.96
Customs duties on imported liquors	6,736,063.00
Total	$183,213,124.51

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